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BY

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TWELFTH EDITION

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OF THE
CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION.

The chief objects of the Church Defence Institution are—

I. To resist all attempts to destroy or weaken the Union between Church and State.

II. To assist, by advice, or by the co-operation of its members, in the formation of Local Associations to the Church Defence Institution, which will work for a similar purpose, each in its own locality.

III. To assist in promoting such measures of well-considered Church Reform as would in themselves prove the best and most efficient means of Church Defence.

IV. To publish from time to time pamphlets and leaflets on important Church questions, and on measures which are likely to come under the cognizance of Parliament; also to supply efficient Lecturers and Speakers, whenever it is considered desirable to hold meetings in support of the objects of the Institution.

In all its operations the Church Defence Institution desires to carry out the spirit of its fundamental rules, which have been the mainspring of its action since it first came into existence in 1860. These rules are as follows:—

I. That the objects of the Institution shall be—to combine, as far as possible, Churchmen of every shade of political and religious opinion in the maintenance and support of the Established Church, and its rights and privileges in relation to the State,—particularly as regards all questions affecting its welfare likely to become the subject of legislative action: and generally to encourage the co-operation of Clergy and Laity, in their several districts, for the promotion of measures conducive to the welfare of the Church.

II. That no question touching Doctrine shall be entertained at any meeting.

Impressed with the vast importance of Union amongst Churchmen for purposes of Church Defence, the Institution urges upon Churchmen the absolute necessity which exists for earnest and united action in order to resist successfully the organised and persistent attacks now made upon the National recognition of Christianity in England.

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No .5.

TO CHURCHMEN.

What we Find:

1. Considerable misapprehension amongst all classes respecting the History of the Church, her property and endowments, and consequently much misrepresentation of the Church's true position.
2. A powerful organization called "The Liberation Society," which teaches that "Both ancient and modern buildings [thus including *all* Churches], as well as all endowments, now appropriated to the use of the National Church, must be regarded *as National property, at the disposal of the State.*"
3. A Society which maintains further, that "With such exceptions as may be determined on, the Cathedrals, Abbeys [such as Westminster, Beverley, &c.], and other monumental buildings, should be under National control, *and be maintained for such uses as Parliament may from time to time determine.*"
4. An extraordinary ignorance among Churchmen, both of what is being thus taught, and of the mischievous extent to which such teaching is being disseminated.
5. A common feeling among Churchmen, that while the Church's work is her best defence, no other defence is needful.

What we Want:

1. To spread sound information on Church History, Church Property, &c., at least as widely as misleading publications on the same subjects (to the number of three millions annually) are circulated.
2. To arrange for the delivery of sermons, the holding of lectures, and the circulation of leaflets, according as may seem most desirable, and so to kindle new love and reverence for the Church, to strengthen her children in their attachment, and to fortify them with all necessary arguments for her defence.
3. To preserve to our country and children the greatest of our national blessings, and to maintain for the service of Almighty GOD all that by the piety of past generations has been dedicated to Him.

What we do Not Want:

1. To see Religion banished from our Schools, from the Legislature, and, generally, from our National life.
2. To see Churches, venerable with the holiest associations, appropriated to secular uses, or for unchristian and anti-christian services, or, as in Ireland, in some cases since Disestablishment, closed through inability to maintain them.
3. To see a Clergy of inferior class and capacity, powerless to influence the educated Laity.

What you may Do:

1. Take pains to ascertain the truth respecting (α) the history, (β) the working, and (γ) the right of the Church to her revenues.
2. Help to bring this knowledge home to others by subscribing to the Church Defence Institution, by distributing its various publications, especially "**The National Church**," and giving it all the moral support in your power.
3. And so do your part in preserving to your Country that which is its greatest glory—our National Christianity.

Printed by W. I. Richardson, 4 and 5, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

Subscription Form.

THE CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION.

PRESIDENT: HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Full Address _____

_____

_____ 189 .

Sir,

I desire to become a subscriber to **The Church Defence Institution,** *and enclose herewith* £ : : *to its funds.*

Yours faithfully,

Name _____

To

The FINANCE SECRETARY,

9, *Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.*

*** **Cheques and Post Office Orders should be made payable to Mr. G. H. F. NYE, Finance Secretary, and crossed Hoare and Co. P.O.O.'s to be made payable to the General Post Office, London, E.C.**

The Church Defence Institution.

The Archbishop of Canterbury writes to the Chairman of the Committee of the Church Defence Institution as follows:—

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.
September, 1884.

"I hope that the Church Defence Institution means to re-issue the Pastoral Letter of my revered predecessor on the National Church, a letter written in reference to certain "Practical Suggestions" for injuring her and her work.

His arguments, weighty in themselves, are the more forcible as coming from one whose political views were so liberal, his experience so great, and his interest in the social welfare of the people so deep. All classes know that the voice of such a counsellor is the voice of a friend."

EDW. CANTUAR.

The following is the Pastoral Letter of the late ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY referred to above:—

My Reverend Brethren, and My Brethren of the Laity,

Attention has been recently called to certain "*Practical Suggestions relative to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England*," circulated by the Liberation Society, a body which has risen to considerable political importance, and which has committed itself to an almost fanatical hatred of all Established Churches.

I find in the programme issued by this body, on page 11, the following, amongst other, proposals as to the Church of England: that, as soon as may be, Cathedrals, Abbeys, and other monumental buildings should be placed under national control, and be maintained for such uses as Parliament may from time to time determine; that all old Churches, meaning thereby Churches built before the year 1818, should be vested in a parochial board to be elected by the ratepayers, which board should have power to deal with them for the general benefit of the parishioners, power of sale being given.

Taking these proposals as specimens of the legislation which the advocates of Disestablishment desire, I think we have some reason to be thankful for the plainness of their utterances. It is quite possible that many persons, not fully acquainted with the real designs of this body, may have incautiously acted or spoken in such a manner as to give the impression that they were to some degree in sympathy with its miscalled liberal designs; but the overwhelming majority of the people of this country looks, I am persuaded, with no favour on the project which the body I allude to is formed to promote, and its intentions have only to be clearly stated that they may be repudiated by both the great political parties in the kingdom. Meanwhile the fanatical spirit which has dictated the programme of the Liberation Society must not be despised because its recognised supporters may be comparatively few.

In page 15 of the "Practical Suggestions," to which I have referred, we read: "It has been already stated that these suggestions are not to be regarded as an exhaustive statement of the various points which would require to be dealt with in connection with the Disestablishment of the English Church. It is necessary to add that there are also subjects, which, though popularly associated with such a change, have no necessary connection with it. The most important of these is the Succession to the Crown, under what is known as the Act of Settlement. The exclusion of members of the Roman Catholic Church from the throne of Great Britain is a political, quite as much as an ecclesiastical, question, and must be dealt with on its own merits. It was left untouched when the Irish Establishment was abolished, and may, in like manner, be left untouched when those of England and Scotland are disestablished also."

Now, it may be perfectly true that the English people are as little prepared, at the present moment, for giving effect to the destructive theories of this Society in reference to strictly ecclesiastical arrangements as they are to embark on that other important subject, which is foreshadowed by the above statement, viz., the re-opening of the question of the Succession

to the Crown under what is known as the Act of Settlement. It is now, however, obvious that the earnestness with which these views are propagated can no longer be safely ignored by any well-wisher of his country. Large sums of money have been subscribed to further the dissemination of these and such-like principles throughout the land. Not only in great towns, but in small country towns and villages, Lecturers of the Liberation Society gather together meetings, often of very illiterate persons, to whom they recommend such schemes as I have mentioned by exaggerated statements as to the condition and working of the Established Church.

It constantly happens that this work is systematically carried on in towns or parishes without even coming to the knowledge of those who would be competent to answer the unscrupulous statements which are sown broadcast among the less educated of our people. The newspapers advocating the views of the Liberation Society, many thousand copies of which are circulated weekly throughout the whole kingdom, are not usually read by persons able or willing to refute by a plain statement of facts the allegations they contain.

Churchmen have thought, and wisely, that the best defence of their Church was to be found in the quiet, conscientious discharge of duty ; and every Clergyman and layman attached to the Church of England will do well to remember that if he fails in his religious duties he thereby strengthens the hands of those who seek to destroy his Church. Still, it will not, in my judgment, be wise longer to overlook the attempts which are certainly now being systematically made, with vigour and perseverance, in so many neighbourhoods, to pervert the judgment and alienate the loyal regard of our people.

The Church Defence Institution is ready to give whatever assistance is desired in order to meet these attacks. While scrupulously avoiding all agitation in the many places in which we are thankful to believe there is peace, its object is to supply in a cheap, popular, and convenient form, sound and accurate information as to the history and condition of the National Church, and, when required, to furnish competent Lecturers, who may follow the agents of the Liberation Society in their inroads, and expose the fallacies they would palm off on the ignorant. For such purposes as these, however, the Institution requires greatly increased support. Its annual income is at present quite insufficient for the performance of the work it is called upon to do. A meeting, largely and influentially attended, has lately been held at Lambeth Palace, at which the necessity for such exertions has been clearly demonstrated ; and I think myself justified in appeal-

ing to all Englishmen, to whatever political or theological party they belong, provided they love the Church of England, and desire that its ministrations should continue to be a barrier against ignorance, infidelity, superstition, and vicious living, to assist in saving the minds of our people from being led astray, to the great injury of themselves and the generations that are to succeed them.

I remain,

Your faithful Brother and Servant,

A. C. CANTUAR.

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.
May 11, 1881.

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No. 10.

ZEAL FOR THE CHURCH.

"The zeal of Thine House hath even eaten Me."—*Psalm* lxix. 9.

All, and more than all, that the Temple was to the Israelite nation, the English Church is to England. We too should be touched with something of our Saviour's sacred zeal for the House of God. Current events bring the subject before our eyes, so that we cannot blink it. Falsehoods are dinned into the ears of our English people about the English Church, its origin, its position, its revenues, its constitution, until the lie gains credit from force of self-assertion; and meanwhile too little effort is made by pulpit, lecture-room, or press, to set the truth before the nation. And too often the tongues of the Clergy are tied upon such matters by the fear that they will be suspected of selfish or ambitious motives, that they will be thought to be leaving their right position and meddling with things beyond their trade. This is not so. Zeal for the Church does not mean zeal for our benefices, or for our rights, or even for our influence. If the great mass of Church laymen would show that they understood the nature of that body to which, in God's goodness, they belong, then would the Clergy gladly hold their tongues and confine themselves to more congenial themes.

The Englishman is surely contemptible who is not a patriot, as Jesus Christ was. We need not enlarge

upon the good cause an Englishman has to love and admire his country. We love her scenery and her soil and her products, her people and her customs, her history and her wide dominions, her good Queen and all that belong to her; and we love, most of us, most of her great institutions. But there is one great institution of hers, which no one affecting to be a patriot can afford not to love. It is the Church of England. The history of the Church of England is the history of England in a sense that could not be stated of any other institution in the country: not the navy, not the universities, not the sacred majesty of the Throne, not even Parliament itself. Read your English history again, refresh your memories of what you learned at school, and you will feel that, if ever a day should come when the majority of Englishmen consent to do the English Church a mischief, that day will be a day when the majority of Englishmen will prove themselves ungrateful to the author of their well-assured liberties. Not to speak of Lanfranc and Anselm, and Theobald and Edmund Rich, of Grossetête and Cantilupe, and of Simon de Montfort—the layman who died under the curse of Rome for his patriotism—look back to the two great crises of our national history, and see who the prominent figures are. In the thirteenth century stands Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, heedless of the Papal ban that was hurled against him for his championship of popular liberty, calmly welding together the barons and the people of England, till he forced John to sign that Great Charter which bears to this day witness that it was the English Church which had extorted it for the people, in the words with

which it begins and ends, *Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit*, "Let the English Church be free." In the seventeenth century the most stirring of the many stirring national scenes is that when the roar of cannon, and the glare of bonfires, and a nation's tears of reverent joy, hailed the acquittal of another Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, who, with Trelawny and five other of his suffragans, had borne the whole brunt of the King's anger, and had suffered all but everything rather than betray the national freedom by suffering the King to do an act that was illegal. It will be a sad day for the credit of England's patriotism when all these things are forgotten; and, should such a day ever come, it will surely be the precursor of another day beyond, when the Church which has withstood the tyranny of kings will be compelled, in the nation's interest, to swing round and face another foe, and offer herself again to the extremest penalties to withstand the tyrannies of a democracy.

Love for our country then ought to be, not so much our excuse for loving the great English Church, but a force which constrains us so to do. We are no patriots without zeal for the House of God that is amongst us; but by force of the same argument we are driven to love the Church, as our Lord loved the Temple, for no antiquarian or historical reasons, but because she *is* the Church. The strength of England is the Church, and the strength of the Church is that she maintains her purity, and owns her allegiance to Christ himself direct, not to the nation. We are to be jealous for her, not because her history thrills us with admiration, or because we

are loth to lose an ancient institution. Our zeal must be a spiritual unworldly zeal, based upon the recognition that she is not the noblest of human organizations, but the creation of the living God, the Spouse and Body of the Lord who died for her, a divine society animated by the Holy Spirit of God, and the heir of every promise of the Gospel. The world denies and resents the claim. It will not hear of our having anything supernatural in our system. It affects to treat us as a department of the state for religious purposes, and we, as a rule, we members of this divine society, are not indignant enough at the lie. Our silence gives it currency ; but the Spirit of Christ demands that we should speak out. We must not let men treat what is divine as if it were their own. We must vindicate for God His full and entire ownership over this national Church of ours. Cost what it may in obloquy, in trouble, or even worse, we must display our zeal for the House of God, because the House of God it *is*.

A. J. M.

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ARE THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY STATE-PAID?

Certainly not. And yet we are so constantly told that they are that many persons actually believe it. It is an undoubted fact that many persons are disaffected towards the Church of England, and will not attend her services, nor use her ministrations, because it is so repeatedly said by Liberationists, "We are taxed to pay a Priesthood or body of Clergy, from whose teaching, whether rightly or wrongly, we conscientiously dissent." It is, therefore, important to show that this is an utter misstatement, propagated by those who ought to know better, in order to prejudice the minds of the people of England against the National Church.

1. In days like ours, when education is widely diffused, and when newspapers are cheap, every man ought to read for himself. Now everyone who does read must know that the members of the House of Commons are the guardians of the national expenditure, and that every money vote must be proposed in, and approved by, the House of Commons. Consequently, if any money were voted to pay the Parochial Clergy it would appear in the annual votes. But where can such a vote be found? We can see what is voted for the maintenance of the Army, Navy, and Civil Service, but no one can find any vote for the payment of England's Parochial Clergy; and this for the best of all reasons, *viz.*, *that there is no such vote made by Parliament at all.* A large reward has been offered for the production of any such vote, with leave to go back for half a century; but no one has been able to claim the reward. We have no statement of any money paid annually by the Government to the Clergy, *for the simple reason that the Government* (*or the State*) *does NOT* pay any of the Clergy.

2. The inequalities in clerical incomes show that the beneficed Clergy are not paid by the State. Colonels, captains, and lieutenants in the Army, officers in the Navy, and Civil Servants, are all paid alike, according to their rank; but scarcely any two neighbouring parishes are endowed with a like amount. Sometimes the rector of a small country parish receives a large income, because endowed by a wealthy, generous patron; and, on the other hand, the vicar

of a large populous town parish may have but little income or endowment as a reward for his arduous labours. These inequalities would not exist if the clergy were State-paid.

3. The variety in patronage proves that the Parochial Clergy are not State-paid. The appointment of Clergy to different parishes is in different hands. The Bishop appoints to some, the Crown to others, a college to others, trustees to others, a private person to others. Now, if the State provided the salary, it would not be left to others to appoint the Clergyman who should enjoy that salary. Every time a private patron exercises his privilege of nomination a fresh evidence is given that such patron either acquired the right to do so because he or his ancestors endowed the parish, or obtained the right from those who originally so acquired it.

4. Every parish is in some diocese, of which the Bishop and the Clergy of the chief, or Cathedral, Church, are paid by endowments; and every parish has a Church (and in the country a churchyard) and at least one resident Clergyman, also paid by endowments; so that everyone can claim the services of a Minister of religion free of cost. The State did not provide these endowments. The State certainly did not ever possess property in every parish; and we have no account of any period when the State gave lands and possessions to any parish, Cathedral, or Bishop's See. On the contrary, we know that Sees and Cathedrals were endowed by the offerings of private persons; and that landowners and wealthy men from early times down to the present gave a portion of their property to endow a Church and secure the services of a resident Clergyman on their estates, or in places in which they were interested. Since estates differed in size and value, and each giver endowed the Church with such an amount as he thought desirable or could provide, it naturally followed that the sizes of parishes and the values of endowments would differ, as indeed we find they actually do.

5. New Churches are continually being erected by private benevolence, and new endowments for these Churches are provided by the voluntary benevolence of individuals, who have invested money in the funds, or made over landed property for ever to secure an income for the Clergy of these Churches. We well know that this is no novel plan, but rather the continuance of an old custom, and a perpetuation of that system of endowment which has ever marked the English Church. The great Lord Chief Justice Blackstone tells us (vol. ii. p. 26) "when dioceses were divided into parishes, the tithes of each parish were allotted to its own particular minister, first by common consent, or by appointments of lords of manors, and afterwards by the written laws of the land. These (lords of manors), as Christianity spread itself, began to build Churches on their own domains or wastes, to accommodate

their tenants in one or two adjoining lordships; and, in order to have divine service regularly performed therein, obliged all their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of their own officiating Minister, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the Clergy of the diocese in general; and this tract of land, the tithes whereof were so appropriated, formed a distinct parish."

The learned Dissenter, John Selden, when arguing against the divine origin of tithes, admits (page 1209), "Afterwards, when devotion grew firmer, and most laymen of fair estate desired the residence of some Chaplain, &c., oratories and chapels began to be built for them also, and, being hallowed (or consecrated) by the Bishop, were *endowed with private maintenance by the founders*, for the Incumbents that should there reside."

Soames (p. 164) shows that Athelstan, one of the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon princes, granted the rank of Thane, or Lord, to such proprietors as provided Churches, properly endowed, for their tenants. And Mr. Horace Mann (in the Census of Religious Worship in Great Britain, p. 24) says, that, "upon the erection of a Church, it became the custom, probably in imitation of a practice which appears to have prevailed in nearly every age and country of the world, for a founder to devote a tenth of all his property to the purposes of religion and charity. Tithes thus appear to have had their origin in voluntary payments."

The Liberation Society, formerly entitled the Anti-State Church Association, in a tract entitled "Church Patronage," make a full admission that much wealth was given to the Church by voluntary gifts—that such "free gifts were much augmented in course of time; since it can be proved from documentary evidence that in the third century, houses, lands, gardens, sacred edifices, together with other property, already encumbered the spouse of Christ;" —that, "in process of time, there crept in the endowment of Parochial Churches, which was not done (says the learned author of the Origines Ecclesiasticæ) in all places, and at the same time, in one and the same way; but it seems to have had its rise from particular founders of Churches, *who settled manse and glebe upon them*, and upon that score were allowed a right of patronage to present their own clerk, and invest him with *the revenue of the Church wherewith they had endowed it.*" Thus, on the testimony of our opponents, we prove the very fact which they try to deny. No lover of justice would allow any modern Church endowments to be interfered with; why then are the old endowments not to be regarded as sacred? When property is once given to the Church, whether twelve months ago, or twelve centuries ago, by private liberality, on what principle of law, justice, or equity, can the State seize upon or alienate such endowments? Parliament

can do anything, it is said. So it can confiscate the property of merchants or landed proprietors, and the chapels and endowments of Dissenters ; but might is not right.

Surely honest Englishmen, when once they know the truth on this matter, will never sanction the spoliation of their Church, but reject with righteous indignation the many misstatements and insidious schemes of the agents and supporters of the Liberation Society. Twenty-five years' undisputed possession secures to Dissenters (by the Act of 1844) the enjoyment of their property ; why should not Church property be secured by a possession which in some cases has lasted forty times as long ?

" So far is the State from at present supporting the Church of England that every parish Church in England was founded, not by the State, but by individual donations in ages past."—The late TOULMIN SMITH, Barrister-at-Law (a Nonconformist).

" To take away the public maintenance provided in the good providence of God for the public dispensers of the Gospel upon pretences of present inconvenience or promises of future provision is a contempt of the care and faithfulness of God towards His Church, and, in plain terms, downright robbery."—Dr. J. OWEN (Nonconformist).

"For the State to take away what it never gave would be downright robbery ; may our country never be dishonoured by it ! "—Dr. PYE SMITH (Nonconformist).

" Were I a native Englishman I should deplore the Disestablishment of the historic Church of the English people, and resist it as the sure precursor of Imperial decay, if not of a period of aimless discord and revolution. Such is the disinterested view of nearly all Americans who have qualified themselves to speak or think on English affairs."—Bp. COXE (American).

The object of the Liberation Society, simply stated, is **to render unto Cæsar the things that be GOD'S.**

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ON CHURCH PROPERTY.

Showing that the Church of England was not endowed by the State. Taken from the Evidence of Toulmin Smith, Esq., "before the Select Committee of the House of Lords," "appointed to inquire into the present operation of the Law and Practice respecting the Assessment and the Levy of Church Rates," on the 16th day of February, 1860

[Mr. Toulmin Smith being a Dissenter, and a Barrister at Law.]

He was asked by the Chairman—"Do you express your views as a Nonconformist?" To which he replied, "Yes."

He says—"I find by many of the old records that it is clear that the whole of the present endowments of the Church were in the first place voluntary endowments. I can show that the endowments, on which the Church subsists, were endowments originally given by private individuals for the specific maintenance of a Church for the people; and that they were totally irrespective of this or that particular form of faith. The endowments were anciently intended simply for a Church for the whole of the people. In proof of these facts I will refer to one or two illustrations. I will refer first to the Statute of Carlisle which was passed in the 35th year of the reign of Edward the First in 1306. That statute begins in the following words: 'Of late it came to the knowledge of our Lord the King, by the grievous complaint of the honourable persons, lords, and other noblemen of his realm, that whereas monasteries, priories, and other religious houses were founded to the honour and glory of God, and the advancement of the Holy Church, by the King and his progenitors, and by the

said noblemen and their ancestors; and a very great portion of lands and tenements have been given by them to the said monasteries,' &c.; showing that it was distinctly recognised in those early times of the Church's history that these were foundations which grew from private gifts of individuals. Nearly fifty years later I find another record. I refer to the 25th of Edward the Third in 1350. This record runs as follows: 'Whereas the Holy Church of England was founded in the estate of prelacy, within the realm of England, by the (King's) said grandfather, (referring to Edward the First) and his progenitors, and the earls, barons, and other nobles of his said realm, and their ancestors, to inform them and the people of the law of God; and certain possessions as well as in fees, lands, rents, as in advowsons, which do extend to a great value, were assigned by the said founders to the prelates and other people of the Holy Church of the said realm to sustain the same charge.' Distinctly showing, again, what was the origin of Church endowments.

"Again, in the 50th year of the reign of Edward the Third, in the year 1376, a petition was made by the Commons to the King and his Council, 'First, that he will please to consider and bethink him, how that his progenitors, noble Kings of England, and other nobles of the same land, with the aid and devotion of the Christian people in former time, built churches in England; then, through great devotion, at different times, and in course of time, there were given to the said churches rich rents, lands, and great possessions, with divers franchises, and all the temporalities that belong to them.' This proves the same thing as the records I have already quoted, namely, that 'the endowments of the Church were gifts by individuals, and not made by the State.' 'The connection of the Church with the State exists quite as much as to all Nonconformist endowments as it does to the Church endowments, and that both one and the other have equally the protection of the law; as has been illustrated in the case of Lady Hewley's charity and many others. It is notorious that the law interferes as stringently to maintain an endowment whether it be for a Dissenting form of worship or for the Church of England; the latter being the Church of the

people, and not of a sect.' 'All the endowments of the Church were endowments by private property.' Again he says, 'Almost all, if not all, the endowments given for the performance of certain services (such as praying for our souls) have been taken away by the State, and the endowments left are those which were given for the Church, properly so called; they were never given for the sake of praying for the souls of the founders Endowments for the latter purpose were largely given to monasteries, and all those endowments have unfortunately been absorbed.'"

"They are chiefly held by the donees of Henry the Eighth, and some by lay impropriators."

In answer to the question, "Do you consider the present Church and the Church before the Reformation" as identical? —He replied, "Undoubtedly."

Again, "Are you aware that the Church, at what is called the Reformation, professed and believed itself to be the same Church with that of the preceding age, only laying aside certain mediæval accretions?"—"So I have always understood."

"So, in point of fact, its profession was not to be a new Church but to be the old receiver of the old endowments?"—"That I understand."

"And that they hold the doctrines of the original receivers?" —"That I understand to be the case; but on such topics I must speak with diffidence."

"Are you, therefore, aware that the Roman Catholic body is not considered by the members of the Church of England the exponents of the old Church of England, but is a branch of a foreign Church which has settled in this country?"—"So I understand, and the records I have quoted go far to prove it."

Thomas Percival Bunting, Esq, a member of the "Old Methodist Connection," in his evidence before the above Committee says, "If the Legislature should at the instance of what I cannot help calling a minority of Nonconformists, interfere in reference to property belonging to the Church of England, I do not know but the day may come when, at the instance of some section of the Church, which I should think bigoted, the Legislature may interfere with the Methodists' endowments." Speak-

ing of those who would appropriate Church property to secular uses with a view to its disestablishment, he says—"I do not think they see that the practical if not the logical sequence may be the alienation of their own endowments."

"Who is safe, if the Church of England is not strong?"

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No. 14.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

ITS PROPERTY AND REVENUES.

1.—The Property of the Church does not belong to the State.

2.—The State never endowed the Church, nor does it now grant money for its support. Ask people who say the contrary to show the Act of Parliament by which the Church was endowed, or any vote in the Annual Estimates for this purpose. This will soon settle the matter.

3.—The State only secures to the Church the legal possession of what has been given to it, in the same manner as it secures to its owner any other property, whether belonging to individuals or to corporate bodies. It will do the same for any religious body that has property given to it.

4.—The Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Canons, and all the other Clergy are paid out of the Funds belonging to the Church itself, given to it mostly by the piety of individuals several hundreds of years ago. This is the reason why the incomes of different Parishes, Cathedral Chapters, and Bishopries vary so much. If the Clergy were paid by the State they would all get an equal proportion.

5.—When you are told "it has cost within the last few years £177,319 to build and improve the Bishops' Palaces," ask where the money has come from, and you will find it has all come from the revenues belonging to those Dioceses—houses, lands, &c.—in many cases, as in the Diocese of Lichfield, from the sale of an old and larger, though perhaps less conveniently situated, palace.

6.—The Ecclesiastical Commission, which you will be told pays the money, only deals with the revenues of the Church itself, which it is distributing in more equitable proportions over the country.

7.—It is true that many of the people of the country have given up communion with the Church, but she still tries, as far as possible, to minister to all. Her Clergy are bound to Baptize, Marry, Bury, and otherwise minister to all who will receive her Offices. By reason of the Church being united to the State, every individual in the land, wherever he may live, has a Pastor, the aid of whose spiritual offices he can claim.

8.—The State can take away the property of the Church, or disendow it, as it is called, in the same way that it can confiscate or take away any property whatever, if the majority pleases, and it has done this in past times, but it is none the less simple—ROBBERY.

9.—What belongs to the Church, given to it by the piety and liberality of our forefathers, whether Kings or private individuals, whether in land, or houses, or in an annual charge on their possessions, such as tithes, belongs to God. Let us take care that we forget not the words "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's."

BE NOT MISLED!
BE CAREFUL TO BE JUST!

"So far is the State from at present supporting the Church of England that every Parish Church in England was founded, not by the State, but by individual donations in ages past."—Toulmin Smith, late Barrister-at-Law (a Nonconformist).

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FACTS AS TO THE WORK AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SINCE 1800.

I. Church Building :—

Up to 1875 the total number of Churches built in the century was 3,399 ; of Churches entirely rebuilt, 1015 ; making 4,414 in all. Restorations and enlargements were still more numerous, so that over 9,000 Churches have been built, rebuilt, or restored during the present century. The total cost of these can hardly be estimated, but from the return presented to the House of Lords on the motion of Lord Hampton in 1875 it is computed that not less than £34,000,000 was expended on Church building and Church restoration between the years 1840 and 1874, an amount which has since been increased to £52,000,000 at the least, or more than £1,000,000 a year. All this was accomplished by voluntary contributions, with the exception of the Parliamentary grant of one million and a half in the outset.

II. Sub-division of Parishes :—

In 1831 the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission returned the number of benefices at 10,718. Now there are as nearly as possible 13,600. And not only did the formation of each new parish involve a large voluntary outlay for Church Schools, and Parsonage, and other numberless details of parochial expenditure ; but the new parishes had to be endowed, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners acknowledge the receipt of no less than £4,930,000 from private benefactions for such endowment up to October 31, 1890, equivalent to an increase of £164,340 per annum in the value of benefices assisted.

III. Parsonage-houses :—

In 1831 these numbered 5,947 ; now they are over 11,000 ; so that, to say nothing of rebuilt Parsonages, we have a clear gain of 5,000 resident Clergy.

IV. Clergy :—In 1801 the number given is 10,307
In 1841 there were 14,613
In 1878 „ „ ... over 23,000
An increase of over 8,000 in thirty-seven years.

Of these, 19,000 are engaged in parochial work ; in round numbers, 13,000 are Incumbents and 6,000 Curates, and 1,600 Clergy employed in School and College work. In 1841 the number of Incumbents was 5,776, in 1880 no less than 13,600.

V. Education :—

The following figures taken from the Education Report for 1891 will show how far the country is indebted to the Church in the matter of Elementary Education :—

Objects of Expenditure.	1811-1870.	1870-1890.	Total.
	£	£	£
Building Schools.....	*6,270,577	6,845,512	13,116,089
Maintaining do.	8,500,000	12,180,493	20,680,493
Building Colleges	*194,085	83,310	277,395
Maintaining do.	185,276	284,454	469,730
Totals.....	15,149,938	19,393,769	34,543,707

* These figures do not include the value of the sites, an item on which another million pounds at least should be added.

Here we have thirteen millions of voluntary subscriptions sunk in School Building alone ; whilst from the same Report we learn that the subscriptions of Churchmen for 1890 reach the amount of £589,640 against £96,976 subscribed by Dissenters. Between 1889 and 1890 the grants to Church Schools increased by over £15,000 ; the average attendance in Church Schools increased by some 2,500 children ; the voluntary contributions of Church Schools increased by over £7,600 ; while the whole income increased nearly £40,000. These figures show that, in spite of the competition of Board Schools, voluntary agencies are capable of holding their own. The rate of grant per scholar in Church Schools was 17s. 5¼d. as against 18s. 5¾d. in Board Schools ; but it should be remembered that a large proportion of our Church Schools are in country districts where there is a sparse population, and that it is impossible for small schools to earn large grants. The cost of production should also be borne in mind in judging of the grant.

VI. Curates :—The number of Curates at present is about 5,700.

The average stipend of a Curate in 1843 was £82 2 10
„ „ „ 1853 „ 79 0 0
„ „ „ 1863 „ 97 10 0
„ „ „ 1873 „ 129 5 8

Taking £130 for the average income at present this gives £733,200 as the gross Curate income. Of this about £400,000 is paid by Incumbents, and the rest, £333,200, comes from lay sources.

No. 18.

TITHES.

By the Author of "The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church."

I.

It is said that the Church of England is supported by the State by means of taxes imposed upon the people.

Whereas the fact is, that not one penny of the taxes imposed upon the people goes to the support of the Church. The Church is supported by her own property, by the voluntary contributions of her Laity, and by the private incomes of the Clergy.

II.

It is said that, as the Church is to a great extent supported by tithes, she must be supported by taxes, forasmuch as tithes are in the nature of taxes.

Whereas the fact is that tithes are not taxes. They are neither levied, collected, nor appropriated as are taxes. They are altogether an unique ecclesiastical property such as has no parallel in the history of England.

III.

It is said that, whether tithes are or are not taxes, they are at least *national* property.

Whereas the fact is that they are *not* national property. They have never been appropriated nor dealt with as such, nor are they now so dealt with nor so appropriated. They are no more national property than is the property of many Corporations in the kingdom left to them, and vested in them for a specific use.

IV.

It is said that tithes must be national property, because the King and Parliament have at times confiscated them, regulated their payment, and dealt with them so as to change their nature from kind to money, and also prescribe their time and mode of payment.

Whereas the fact is that neither the sovereign nor Parliament have assumed to have any more property in tithes than they have assumed to have property in the possessions of the various corporations in the country and the property of private persons, with which they have at times dealt as freely, and over which they have assumed as absolute control, as ever they have done over the property of tithes.

V.

It is said that tithes were formerly chargeable with the relief, if not the support, of the poor, and that they ought to be so now.

Whereas the fact is that tithes were never legally chargeable with the relief or support of the poor, and those tithes annexed to religious houses, out of which the poor were to a great extent relieved, were by Henry VIII. taken away from the Church and given to his favourites, or devoted to other alien purposes. And further it must be borne in mind that, even if the Church had never been robbed of her property, it would have been totally inadequate to the relief of the poor in these days, seeing that the population has so largely increased, and that the amount required for that purpose from the rates is greater than the whole income of the Church. The amount of the rate for the support of the poor in 1880 was £13,302,088, being more than six times the whole amount of the net income received from tithes by the Clergy. It also must be borne in mind that of all parishioners in any parish no one is so heavily rated for the relief of the poor as its Incumbent or Parson.

VI.

It is said that tithe is a burden on land, and therefore a hindrance to the farmer's successful cultivation of the soil, if not a tax upon his industry.

Whereas the fact is that, although it is a monetary burden on the land, it is a just and lawful burden which has existed as a first-charge upon the produce of the soil from the earliest period of this country's history. The landowner inherited, acquired, or bought his land subject to it, and the farmer rented his farm from the landlord well knowing that the payment of tithes had to be made, and in most cases voluntarily engaging to make it. And as to tithe being a burden on land, why every liability on the soil is a burden. The landlord's rent, the Queen's taxes, and the parochial rates all are burdens, and these are modern charges compared with tithes; still the tenants of the soil or its owners have to pay them, and tithes are no more a burden than any of these.

VII.

It is said that it is unfair and unjust to call upon a man to pay tithe to the clergy of a church from which he dissents, and with whose teaching and mode of worship he cannot agree.

Whereas the fact is that every tithe-payer pays his tithe as a legal charge quite irrespective of the object to which it is devoted, and if the Church were robbed of the tithes to-morrow, and they were confiscated to the State for general national purposes, he would still have to pay them, and perhaps for the support of an object that he might be as little in sympathy with as the support of the National Church, and even to his mind far less deserving. For instance, a peace-at-any-price man might have to pay tithes for the support of war, just as now he has sometimes to pay his taxes for the same object, and has always to pay them to keep up a standing fleet and army. A teetotaler might have to pay them for keeping up a machinery to license, inspect, and superintend public-houses, and to support men and women as criminals and paupers who had brought their misery on them-

selves through drink, and an anti-vaccinationist might have to pay them for the support of vaccination and vaccinators.

VIII.

It is said that if tithes were abolished as payable to the Church a great existing burden would be removed from the over-taxed and parochially over-rated landlords and tenants.

Whereas the fact is that if we could imagine such a thing as the State robbing the Church of her tithes, it would never be permitted by the people of England that she should be so robbed in the interests of only two classes of the community. All sections of the population would claim a share, and little good would it do to any; for the amount of relief to the rates and taxes by any surplus remaining after all existing monetary interests were compensated would scarcely be appreciable.

IX.

It is said that if the Church were disestablished and disendowed the payment of tithes would cease, and that farmers and all tithe-payers would be so far benefited.

Whereas the facts are that in that case tithes would still have to be paid to the Government as they are at present in Ireland. The Irish farmers were led by agitators to believe that with the disestablishment of the Church the payment of tithes would cease. But they find to their cost that instead of paying them to the Parson, who spent them in the locality, they have now to pay them to the Government, who extort the last farthing and use the whole for general purposes.

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Are the Clergy State Paid?

MR. GLADSTONE, the MARQUIS of SALISBURY, and EARL GRANVILLE have sent the following replies to an Accrington correspondent to the query,

"ARE THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND STATE PAID?"

MR. GLADSTONE'S Secretary writes:—"Sir,—Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply to your letter, desires me to inform you that the **Clergy of the Church of England are not State paid.**"

LORD SALISBURY'S Secretary writes:—"Sir,—I am directed by the MARQUIS of SALISBURY to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. In reply, I am to say that the **Bishops receive no grants from the State,** but they receive a revenue from ancient endowments given to the Church."

LORD GRANVILLE'S Secretary says:—"Sir,—In reply to your letter, I am desired by LORD GRANVILLE to state that **tithes existed in England before Acts of Parliament,** though the present mode of assessment and payment was settled by the Tithe Commutation Act, 6 and 7 William IV., Cap. 71, and subsequent statutes. I am to add that you will find a short summary of the origin of tithes, which is very complicated, in Blackstone's Commentaries or other text-books of English law, or in most encyclopædias."

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C.D.I. No. 21.

No. 23.

Church Property not State Property.

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1. EXCEPT a grant of One Million for a Thank-offering unto GOD for the return of Peace, voted by the House of Commons in 1818, and supplemented by a further grant of £500,000 in 1824, for building Churches, the State has given nothing towards the building of Cathedrals, Churches, Collegiate Churches, Chapels of Ease, or Clerical Residences; or indeed to the Public Schools and Universities which it now desires to govern. These grants are remarkably and painfully exceptional. But then the exception proves the rule; and that rule has been, and still is, that Church Work (Buildings and Endowments) has been the voluntary work of Church people and not of the State. Church people built our Churches. Church people endowed them.

2. The State has given nothing whatever of the existing endowments of the Church. If it be otherwise it is easy to trace the fact in the Acts of Parliament and in the accounts of the Treasury. Why is it, if the State pays the clergy, that their incomes differ so greatly? Attention to this one fact might teach any honest, thoughtful mind. The State made grants to Queen Anne's Bounty from 1809 to 1820 amounting to £1,100,000 in all. But far more than this had been taken from the Church between the time of Henry VIII. and Queen Anne, from the very sources from which this was derived, which was a levy on Church property. It was not so much a gift to the Church as a restoration of her own property, while the "Regium Donum" given to Presbyterians and Dissenters in Ireland in 1672, renewed in 1690 and commuted in 1871, and thus made into capital, was for them a real gift and now an endowment. Even if the State had *given* many millions to the Church, it is not usual to take away anything that has been *given*. And it would be just as unfair to take anything given to Presbyterians or Dissenters.

3. The State has no right whatever to any of the endowments or other property of the Church. The Church of England raised and expended eleven millions of voluntary contributions chiefly under the stimulus of the above grants, and built 3,150 Churches in the first half of this century.

4. Church endowments and property, including nearly every one of her churchyards, were given to her by private gifts for

specific and holy purposes. They are used entirely for those purposes now. They were given exclusively for Church purposes to the Church, and by Church people.

5. Tithes were never created by the State. As a principle the origin may be found in the Book of Genesis. As a fact, they were given in this country by those to whom the property belonged, not by the State. The Saxon Dooms and early Acts of Parliament recognise the existence of tithes but do not pretend to create them.

Note Mal. iii. 7—12 on tithes. It is a word from GOD much forgotten.

6. The State has no right, claim, or title, to take Church property from the Church. Perhaps it might have a right in equity to interfere if the Church property were being applied to wrong purposes; but it is idle to allege that such is in any way the case. No respectable person ever now ventures to offer any imputation of the kind. All Church property is wanted for Church purposes. Most of it was given when Churchmen were far less numerous than they are now. Never was the number of Churchmen in Great Britain so large as at the present time. We need, for the welfare of England, more churches, many more services in them, and many more deacons and priests, and not a few more bishops, besides very much lay agency.

7. Any Act of the State enforcing the payment of tithes is no Act of gift by the State, but merely secures what has been given to those unto whom it has been given. An Act of the State which says, "Pay your tithes" is no more a gift by the State of those tithes than an Act enforcing the payment of your rent is a gift of that rent by the State.

8 Dissenters refuse to belong to the Church, though there are hopeful signs of many of them returning to the Church of their forefathers. Their Nonconformity is much to be regretted for their own sakes and for the sake of others. But they have no more claim upon the property or the privileges of the Church than Churchmen have on the meeting-houses of Dissenters or on the endowments and burial-grounds belonging thereto.

9 The State has as good a right to interfere with the property of the Wesleyans, or of the Dissenters, or of the Roman Catholics, as it has with the property of the Church. The very necessary laws of mortmain would not have been called for if the State and not the owners of property had endowed the Church.

10. No Church property was ever given to the nation or given for national purposes. It was given to the Church for Church purposes alone, with the intention of thereby benefiting the people, but it was never placed at the disposal of the State.

11. Let such Church-founders, Church-endowers, and givers of land for graveyards as still survive, be asked "For what purpose did you found this Church, or grant this endowment, or give this land? Was it or was it not for the Church alone? Was that land given for anyone to bury in it with any service anyone chooses, or for Church of England people and Church of England purposes alone? What was your intention in doing all according to law? Was it in order that the State might seize whatever you gave to the Church, and use it in any way it chose? Or was it because you thought that the State would secure it to the Church for Church purposes, just as it secures the property given to the meeting-house, or your private property to yourself?" *Let that question be fairly put, and fairly answered.* In the last half century, it is said that £70,000,000 have been given by Church people for Church purposes, in a great part for the religious benefit of the poor. Is it right that this should be taken from the Church? Let the surviving donors say whether they made their gifts to the State to do as it likes with them, or to the Church? Over two millions of money were given in the diocese of Oxford during the episcopate of the late Dr. Samuel Wilberforce. Between the years 1840 and 1874 the Church of England expended in Church building and restoration considerably over twenty-five millions of money, wholly and entirely given by Church people. Few will dare to say that she has no right to this. But she has *no more* right to it than to the millions given to her in any one century of her existence. She has full right to all that has been given her, and can make a good use of it all, and is so doing for the spiritual welfare of the nation. Let the survivors say if they did not give their share of this in the full faith that the State would maintain to the Church whatever was given to the Church.

12. All the property of the Church, whether given one, or three, or thirteen centuries ago, was equally given to the Church, for the purposes of the Church. That Church in its own corporate capacity, had, and has, the right from time to time to exercise its judgment and to make such changes as seem to it wise and desirable. It has exercised that right, and has more than once ejected and rejected erroneous doctrines and malpractices. But it is the same Church throughout, and did what it did in its own corporate will and capacity, and it alone has the right and title to all Church possessions, whether of one century or another.

13. It is utterly untrue to say that the Church property, tithes, land, investments, or buildings, were in any way given by the State or to the State. It is utterly untrue to say that the Clergy are paid by the State. It is utterly untrue to say that any taxes or customs are used in any way whatever for Church purposes. Why do not those who assert otherwise prove their assertion ? They cannot.

14. Church property is the simple result of the gifts of Churchmen in all ages, of some portion of their belongings, unto GOD, for His glory and for the spiritual good of their fellow-men in and by the Church. Thus, in most places, the owner of the property built the Church and a residence, and sometimes endowed it with a right to a tenth or tithe of the product of all his land (which usually constituted the whole parish), and sometimes with a piece of land. If he were a large landowner, the tithes would, of course, be large; but if a small landowner, the tithes would be of necessity less. Or if he gave land or money the amount would depend upon his means and his liberality. Often he would claim the right to nominate the clergyman to the living, and this right or patronage would descend to his heirs. And as he could nominate only some priest *already approved* and *already ordained by the bishop*, there seems no sort of impropriety in this arrangement. Sometimes he gave up this right or patronage to the bishop. But where he did so, this gave the State no right to say that all livings in such patronage are not Church property ! It is monstrous to say so. It is wonderful that men dare to assert such things. But lawlessness and infidelity increase, and will, if unchecked, overthrow all religious institutions.

15. Church property—whether churches, lands, churchyards, or tithes—never was given for national uses or national purposes, but it was given by private beneficence for the maintenance of the Church in and amongst the nation. *Woe to the nation that shall dare to alienate it!* "The mill of God grinds late, but it grinds to powder."

G. V.

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The Origin of Church Property.

There is no appeal like the appeal to History. Many people strenuously assert, and many more accept it as true, that the ancient property of the Church was conferred upon it by the State. No proof of this is, however, forthcoming. It is in fact incapable of proof. Princes, noblemen, lords of the manor were the first benefactors of the Church, as might be shown by reference to numberless deeds.

The following are the actual words of the deed of endowment of a church in Wales founded in the reign of Henry I. The "Bernard Newmarch" mentioned therein was the Norman conqueror of Brecknockshire, and "Bernard" the first Norman Bishop of St. David's. The original document in the Latin, of which this is a translation, has been recently published from Carte's Papers in the *Archæologia Cambrensis:*—

"Bernard, by the grace of God Bishop of St. David's, to all the faithful of the Holy Church of God, greeting and benediction. Let all, both those who are now living and those who shall hereafter live, know that when we consecrated the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Haye, William Revel did, by permission of Bernard Newmarch, who was present at the consecration, give and grant as a free gift and endowment of the church itself, fifteen acres of land and two tenements, and all the land attached to those tenements in the high forest land as far as the boundaries of Ewias, and in the coppice and in

the low ground. He gave also to the same church all the tithe of all his estate of Haye in all things, as well as that of the lands of Ivor and Meleniac, and of all things that are held of the lordship of Haye. And that no question may arise in the future respecting the matter, he definitely gave tithe as follows:— Of corn, and hay, and poultry, and cattle, and sheep, and pigs, and wool, and cheese, and underwood, and the benevolence of Welshmen, and tolls for right of passage, and fees for plaints. Whoever shall subtract or diminish aught from these, let him be cut off from the communion of God and His saints until he come to a better mind. Fare ye well."

According to charters, still extant, which convey land or tithes to the Church, the form is always such as the following:—"I give unto God and the Church of St. Paul."* "These rights and all others I declare clear to Christ and St. Peter." The terms "St. Paul" and "St. Peter" have reference to particular churches dedicated to those Apostles to which the benefactions were given.

The formula of consecration used from ancient times still runs, "We do separate and set apart from all unhallowed, ordinary, and common uses" this piece of land, &c., "and do dedicate the same to God and Holy Church."

* Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 963.

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No. 26.

LIBERAL STATESMEN ON DISESTABLISHMENT.

Seeing that certain persons are now endeavouring to persuade people that the Church of England ought to be disestablished and disendowed, it may be well to remind the public of what four of the most distinguished of the Liberal leaders have to say on this subject.

Mr. GLADSTONE declares that "The Church of England has not only been a part of the history of this country, but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass. Take the Church of England out of the History of England, and the History of England becomes a chaos without order, without life, and without meaning."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May* 16, 1873.

Lord HARTINGTON (now Duke of Devonshire) says: "I oppose it (Disestablishment) because I believe that the Church is an institution firmly rooted in a great number of the hearts of the community, and that it could not be disestablished or disendowed without a prolonged conflict, without compulsion, which would bring the country nearer to civil war than its opponents would conceive."—*Speech at Accrington, October* 30*th*, 1885.

Lord SELBORNE, speaking at Alton, on December 23, 1874, made the following very earnest appeal:—"If sacrilege was to come upon this land, let the clergy, at least, have nothing to do with it. Let them not be persuaded to think that a better state of things would exist if the Church were free from State control than that under which they now lived. Let them not for one moment imagine that a better state of things would be arrived at by their helping the enemies of religion and of the Church, who were striving to take away from men their churches and their endowments. They might depend upon it

that those who were discontented and wished to pull the Church down about their heads would find themselves no better off in any point of view if it were done. They would rather be very much the worse; **while, with respect to the State, he trembled, as a citizen, to think of the consequences that might result from the breaking of those ties that entered so deeply into the whole national and social life of the country, and were so entwined around existing institutions."**

Lastly, Mr. W. E. Forster, addressing his constituents on January 7, 1878, spoke very emphatically of the blessing to England of an Established Church:—"For the destruction of the parochial system I dare not make myself responsible. I say that in this England of ours, in which you and I have a share in the Government, there are so many influences for evil that I dare not make myself responsible for destroying this influence for good. What I maintain is this: that the Clergy of the Church of England do exercise a wide and powerful influence—wide and powerful by the very fact that they are the Clergy of an Established Church—and believing, as I also do, that this wide and powerful influence is in the main exerted for good, I dare not make myself responsible for destroying it." And again: **"I dare not, I am not prepared, I should think it wrong, to vote for either the Disestablishment or the Disendowment of the Church of England."**

Englishmen, all of you who agree in this matter with such men as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster, Lord Hartington and Lord Selborne, do everything in your power to circulate such sound information as shall prevent the calamity of Disestablishment from ever falling upon our Christian land.

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Things to be remembered in English Church History.

The Church of England was in all essential points the same Church 1,500 years ago that she is now.

More than 1,500 years ago British Bishops took part in important Church Councils.

There never has been a time since Christianity was introduced into England in which the threefold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons did not exist in the Church of England.

The teaching of the unity of the Church in early Saxon days first brought about the unity of the nation.

The National Synods of the whole English Church first put into the heads of the people the idea of a National Parliament. The canons passed in the Synods were the origin of our statute law. (See Green's "History of the English People," vol. i. p. 59.)

The Church of England was established and endowed by its own inherent growth centuries before Parliament existed in England.

It is impossible then that the Church of England can have been originally established and endowed by Act of Parliament.

There never was a Church of Rome in England.

The Pope claimed, but never legally exercised, supremacy in England even before the Reformation. It was only lawful for him to exercise spiritual jurisdiction with the consent of the Crown.

No new Church was founded in England at the Reformation.

There was, therefore, no transfer of Church property from the Roman Catholic Church to the Church of England at that period.

But there was a great transfer of Church property to secular hands, in which it has ever since remained.

The property at present possessed by the Church of England (speaking broadly) was given her before the Conquest, or since the Reformation.

Tithe is of "the nature of a reserved rent which never belonged to either landlord or tenant" (Sir George Cornewall Lewis).

These things are worthy of remembrance.

Mr. Gladstone
On the Work of the Church.

"But my hon. friend (Mr. Miall) has represented the dark side of the picture, and the dark side alone. If the speech of my hon. friend contained upon the whole a just description of the Church of England, what a lamentable picture she would present to the eyes of impartial observers! Where, Sir, are we to find impartial observers? Not easily, perhaps, among ourselves, because feeling and affection profoundly enter into the discussion of this question, and prevent us from judging with that perfectly dispassionate calmness which we should ourselves desire. But abroad we may sometimes find those who, with accurate knowledge of the condition of this country, and especially of its religious condition, unite discrimination and perfect impartiality of feeling. Now the House is usually alarmed at the production of a printed book, but there is no occasion for such alarm now. I am about to read some passages from the work of a very eminent man—Dr. Döllinger—whom for many years I have had the privilege of calling my friend—one who is thoroughly acquainted with the religious condition of this country, and than whom no one has a deeper sympathy with English institutions in general. I shall read from a work published by his authority in this country, entitled *Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches*. I shall not read all he says about the Church of England, first because it is too long, and next because my hon. friend has supplied us with most of what could be said about her calamities and wounds and sores; but I will read what he says on the other side—not garbled passages, but such as convey a fair and just impression of his views. Dr. Döllinger says:

"'It may still be said with truth that no Church is so national, so deeply rooted in popular affection, so bound up with the institutions and manners of the country, or so powerful in its influence on national character. During the last forty years it has extended its range, besides strengthening itself internally, by the foundation of numerous colonial bishoprics in all parts of the globe. It possesses a rich theological literature, inferior only to the German in extent and depth, and an excellent translation of the Bible, a masterpiece of style and more accurate than the Lutheran. . . . . But what I should estimate most highly is the fact that the cold, dull indifferentism, which on the Continent has spread like a deadly mildew over all degrees of society, has no place in the British Isles. To whatever extent scepticism may have advanced among the younger generation, on the whole the Englishman takes an active part in Church interests and questions, and that unnatural hostility and division between laity and clergy produced by Ultramontanism in Catholic countries is quite unknown there. . . . . What has been accomplished during the last thirty years by the energy and generosity of religious Englishmen, set in motion and guided by the Church, in the way of popular education and Church building, far exceeds what has been done in any other country.'

* * * * * * *

"The Church of England has not only been a part of the history of this country, but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass. Take the Church of England out of the History of England, and the History of England becomes a chaos without order, without life, and without meaning."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May* 16, 1873

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THINGS FOR CHURCHMEN TO REMEMBER.

The attention of Churchmen is earnestly called to the following facts:

1. That the Church of England has been in close alliance with the State for over 1,000 years. England as one kingdom has never been without a National Church.

2. That, during that period, England has advanced from the condition of a small and divided Kingdom to that of a vast Empire, extending to every quarter of the Globe.

3. That this alliance was never made by Act of Parliament, but grew with the nation's growth, and strengthened with its strength.

4. That at the Reformation no new Church was formed in England, but the old English Church, founded in primitive times, was reformed.

5. That the Bishops generally in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. retained their Sees, and carried on the succession of the ministry, so that there was no break in the continuity of the Church at the Reformation. "We must assume, because the facts of history compel us to assume, the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation with the Church of England before the Reformation."—*E. A. Freeman. Disestablishment and Disendowment. Second edition, p.* 13.

6. That there was no transfer of property from one Church to another at the Reformation, but that the Endowments remained in the hands of the Church of England, as they had for many centuries before.

7. That "the Ecclesiastical Endowments of England have grown up, like everything else in England, bit by bit. A number of Ecclesiastical Corporations have been endowed at all manner of times, and in all manner of ways; but there was no particular moment when the State of England determined to endow one general religious body, called the Church of England."—*E. A. Freeman. Disestablishment and Disendowment. Second edition, p.* 12.

8. That not a farthing of the taxes now paid by the people finds its way into the pockets of the Bishops or Parochial Clergy, who are paid by Endowments given by our ancestors, or by the voluntary gifts of Churchmen themselves.

9. That the whole country is now being agitated in favour of Disestablishment, and large sums have been raised to deprive the poor of the free spiritual ministrations provided for them by the Endowments of the Church.

10. That it is openly alleged by the Liberationist leaders that the Cathedrals, the old Parish Churches, Parsonages, and Glebe do not belong to the Church, but are national property, and ought to be applied to national purposes, *not* necessarily religious.

11. That Disestablishment would reduce thousands of country parishes in a few years to a state of spiritual starvation, by depriving them of a Parish Church and of a resident Clergyman.

12. That Disestablishment would leave the nation without any national recognition of God or religion. Hitherto our constitution has been Christian—Disestablishment would make it cease to be so.

13. That "In a word, Disestablishment means that as a nation we renounce God, and Disendowment means that as a nation we rob Him."—*Address of London Working Men's Council.*

14. That every Englishman who desires the welfare of his country should earnestly and heartily oppose this destructive policy.

15. That the Church Defence Institution is actively engaged in opposing this agitation for Disestablishment and Disendowment, and therefore deserves the earnest support of all who desire to preserve the blessings of national Christianity to our people.

16. That the time therefore has come for Churchmen to make some real exertion and true self-sacrifice for Church Defence; and that not to do so is to neglect our duty both as patriots and as Churchmen.

Donations and Subscriptions towards the objects of the Church Defence Institution should be paid to the Financial Secretary, Mr. G. H. F. Nye, at the Offices, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, or at the Banks of Messrs. Hoare & Co, 37, Fleet Street, E.C., and Messrs Herries, Farquhar, & Co., St. James's Street, S.W.

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STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE, A.D. 1393.

(16 Richard II., Cap. 5.)

THE CROWN OF ENGLAND SUBJECT TO NONE.

[Recital of various abuses caused by Bulls from Rome, sentences of Papal Courts, &c.] . . . "by which (if they should be suffered) the statutes of the realm should be defeated and made void," . . . "and **so the Crown of England, which hath been so free at all times** that it hath been **in no earthly subjection,** but immediately **subject to God** in all things touching the regalty of the same Crown, **and to no other,** should be submitted to the Pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the King our Lord, his crown, his regalty, and of all his realm, **which God defend**" . . . &c.

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C.D.I.—No. 33.

Statute Forbidding Appeals to Rome, A.D. 1533.

(24 Henry VIII., cap. 12.)

For the Restraint of Appeals.— "Whereas, by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared that **this Realm of England is an Empire,** and so hath been accepted in the world, **governed by one Supreme Head and King,** having the dignity and royal estate of the Imperial Crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms, and by names of **Spiritualty and Temporalty,** be bound to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience, he being also furnished, by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God with plenary whole and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative and jurisdiction to render and yield justice and final determination to all manner of folk, residents or subjects, within this his realm, in all causes and matters" . . . "without restraint or provocation to **any Foreign Princes** or potentates of the world; the body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted and showed by that part of the said body politic called the spiritualty, now being usually called **the English Church,** which always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it **hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person** or persons, **to declare and determine all** such **doubts,** and to **administer all** such **offices** and **duties** as to their rooms spiritual shall appertain" . . . &c. . . . &c.

Printed and Published by Nichols and Sons, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

STATUTE OF PROVISORS, A.D. 1351.

(25 Edward III., Stat. 6.)

"Whereas **the Holy Church of England** was founded in the estate of prelacy, within the realm of England, by the said Edward I. and his progenitors, and the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of his said realm, and their ancestors" . . . "and certain possessions as well in fees, lands, rents, as in advowsons, which do extend to a great value, were assigned by the said founders to the prelates and other people of the Holy Church of the said realm," . . . "the **Bishop of Rome**, accroaching to himself the said seigniories of such possessions and benefices, doth give and grant the same benefices to **Aliens**, which did never dwell in England, and to Cardinals which might not dwell here, and to other as well aliens as denizens, **as if he had been Patron or Advowee** of the said dignities and benefices, **as he was not of right by the Law of England**" . . . "in adnullation of the estate of the Holy Church of England" . . . "and in offence and destruction of the laws and rights of the King's realm" . . . &c.

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C.D.I.—No. 35.

No. 37.

SOME FALSE STATEMENTS

OF THE

LIBERATION SOCIETY CONSIDERED.

THE title of "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control," which has been assumed by the Society formerly called the "Anti-State-Church Association," is a misleading one. All religious bodies in England, whether composed of Churchmen or Dissenters, are and must be "under the control of the State," for all must necessarily submit to the regulations of the law. By the constitution of England the Sovereign is "over *all* persons and in *all* causes, ecclesiastical and civil, within her dominions supreme."

The *real* design of the Society is to prevent the State from recognising religion in any form, and to induce the State to seize and alienate the buildings and other possessions which have been given to the Church for the purpose of keeping up the worship of GOD, and maintaining the Clergy. They (the supporters of the Society) sometimes declare that "they have the interests of the Church at heart;" but this is hard to believe, when a great majority of them are bitterly opposed to the Church, not as an Establishment but as a Church, and many are enemies to all religion.

I. They tell us that "the Established Church was created by Act of Parliament."

No such Act can be produced, for there *never was one*. Many Acts and Charters recognise the National Church as already existing, but none "creates" it. In the common phrase "by law established" the word "established" does not mean *first* established, that is "planted" or "created," but *recognised* by the nation as the accredited teacher of religion and maintainer of public worship. And in the same way the Sovereign is called "Head" or "Supreme Governor" of the Church, not as possessing spiritual authority, but as being ruler of all her subjects alike, whether Churchmen or not.

II. They say that "at the Reformation in the sixteenth century Parliament disestablished the Church of Rome, and put the Church of England in its place."

The Church of Rome *never was established in England;* the Established or National Church was always called "the

Church of England," and when King John endeavoured to bring England and her Church under the Papal dominion, the Barons, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, resisted, and compelled him to grant Magna Charta. The Bishops of Rome still continued to claim, and for a time exercised, unwarrantable authority in the Church of England ; but this, with the corrupt doctrines of the Papal Church, was rejected at the Reformation, and the reforms were in due course accepted and confirmed by the nation in Parliament. But the Church still continued the same body, not a single bishopric, cathedral, or parish being abolished, though some were added; the *monasteries* only were suppressed, and that chiefly because their inmates professed allegiance to the Pope rather than to their National Church.

III. They assert that "the Clergy are State-paid."

This is by no means true. Nothing is paid by the State out of the taxes to any Church officer whatsoever as such. All are paid, on condition of performing certain duties, from funds provided and still being provided by private individuals for the various sees, churches, and parishes. These funds, like the endowments of Dissenters' chapels, and all other property not belonging to private individuals, are under the guardianship of the State, which in every case provides that the holders of property charged with responsibilities perform their duties.

IV. They say that "Tithe is a tax."

Tithe is no more a tax than the rent or interest paid on Dissenters' endowments is a tax. It is part of the rent, paid sometimes to the Clergyman, sometimes to a lay tithe-owner instead of to the landlord. No landowner was ever compelled to give it in the first instance, but private individuals voluntarily charged their land with it, and then the State recognised its legality, and provided ways of enforcing the payment when due, exactly as it enforces the payment of money due to Dissenters on their endowments.

V. They argue that "Parliament can do as it pleases with Church property."

Parliament "can" also do as it pleases with Dissenters' property, or any private property. The State is guardian for the Church of that which private persons have made over to the Church for the benefit of religion and the spiritual advantage of the nation. The State "can" alienate this just as any fraudulent sole trustee "can" appropriate what he holds in trust ; but Might does not make Right—it would be robbery and sacrilege all the same.

VI. They speak of the Established Church as "the Church of the few and the rich."

On the contrary, she is pre-eminently the Church of the poor, and has the willing allegiance of a very large majority of the nation. This is clear from statistics of Church attendance, Church building, education, and marriages; and is confirmed (1) by the persistent refusal of political Dissenters to allow a real religious census to be taken by public authority, and (2) *by their continued misrepresentation*, against the Church and in their own favour, of the statistics of Church and dissenting accommodation, attendance, and progress.

VII. They censure the Church as having been "indifferent or opposed to education."

So far from this being true, the Church up to the time of the Education Act of 1870 was doing *seventy-five* per cent. of the education of the country, the Secularists two per cent. and the various dissenting sects the rest. The clergy maintained and are still maintaining the schools in a highly efficient state by their own zeal and personal labour, and in numerous instances at their own expense.

VIII. They state that "Bishops are made by the Queen and Prime Minister."

The Clergy, whether Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, are made by ordination, not by the authority of Sovereign, Minister, or Parliament. What the Queen does is to appoint Bishops to their posts—in one word to *place* them—which is a very different thing. This she does as hereditary representative of the nation, advised by the Prime Minister, the elected representative of the nation: and her choice is limited by Church law to a man in Priest's Orders and over thirty years old.

IX. They say that "the religion of the Church is dictated, and can be altered, by Parliament."

This is utterly untrue. Parliament cannot alter a single word in the Creeds, nor modify a single doctrine. The Prayer Book was drawn up by the Church, not by the State; it is incorporated in the Act of Uniformity as a sign of its acceptance by the Nation. The Thirty-nine Articles which are particularly objected to as "State-made," are most distinctly said in their title to have been agreed on by the Clergy in their Convocation. They were *accepted*, not *made*, by Parliament. The "State services" which used

to appear in the Prayer Book were bound up with it *by direction of the Monarch*, just as Tate and Brady's Psalms were, and were removed at the Queen's command. They never had the least authority beyond the respect due to the expressed wish of the Sovereign, and certainly were not inserted or removed by Parliament.

X. They recommend the "Voluntary System" as opposed and superior to the Church system.

The real fact is, that the Church system is, in the best sense of the word, *voluntary*. No one is compelled to belong to her, or to contribute to her maintenance. Her endowments were all voluntary offerings, as much as those possessed by Dissenters. Money has occasionally been granted by the Nation both for Church purposes and for Dissenting purposes; but these grants, whether to the Church or the Dissenters, were voluntary gifts by the Nation for the time being, and do not now make either Church or Dissent "State-paid" or "involuntary."

XI. They insist on the "differences and dissension amongst the members of the Established Church."

It is the glory of an enlightened and comprehensive body like the Church of England to include within her men who hold different opinions on various points of greater or less interest, but they are not therefore disunited; on the contrary, there is a marvellous amount of union between men whose *opinions* are widely divergent. But even were the differences and disunion of Churchmen as great as they are falsely represented to be, they are far less than those which exist between the various sects of Nonconformists, and even within the several denominations.

XII. They allege that "the State has nothing to do with religion."

On the contrary, every nation has a duty towards GOD, Who made it and supports it; and so every nation is bound to have a national religion, and to provide for teaching that religion to the people. A national recognition of religion is indispensable if we are to have National Morality and a National Conscience.

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THE NATIONAL CHURCH THE SOURCE OF ENGLAND'S GREATNESS.

THE National Church is the glory of the English nation, and the true foundation upon which our national greatness rests. When the Church was first brought into close alliance with the State, England was small and insignificant amongst the kingdoms of the earth. Since then, she has advanced to the very first rank amongst the nations. To what cause will every God-fearing man amongst us chiefly attribute this? To the wisdom and foresight of our statesmen? To the discipline and bravery of our armies? To the peculiar daring of our renowned navies? To the energy, skill, and determined perseverance of our merchants and men of business generally? No. To no such causes as these will the faithful Christian ascribe the true source of England's greatness as a nation. These may all be needed to make a country great. These may all be reckoned amongst the material causes which tend to elevate it in the scale of nations. But the true source of England's power, without which all her boasted prosperity may some day vanish like a dream, is that hitherto, amidst all our national shortcomings, amidst all the many evils which degenerate Englishmen have brought upon her name, we have hitherto been, in the face of the world at least, a religious nation; we have not been ashamed of the Name of our God; we have ever had a national religion. Our sovereigns, generation after generation, have been solemnly crowned in the old historical Abbey of Westminster, or in some other of our great cathedrals, by the Chief Pastor of England's Church, and have thus openly acknowledged that they hold their royal power from Him "by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice." Public business is never commenced in either House of Parliament without prayer being offered up by a Minister of the National Church. The whole land is mapped out into parishes, with authorised pastors appointed over each, for the very purpose of bringing home to all classes of the people the pure word of God and the unmutilated Sacraments of Jesus

Christ; and to provide for the poor, the sick, the needy, who never can provide these blessings for themselves, those spiritual ministrations, without which the glorious light of the Gospel of Christ would be practically excluded from their homes.

All this it is now proposed to change. A certain body of men outside our Church, who, in this free land, have full liberty to worship Almighty God in that way which best commends itself to their own consciences,—who, under the strong protection of the law, can build houses of worship for themselves, and can choose, and pay, and dismiss their Ministers in any manner that to them seems best,—will not rest content with this complete freedom; but leaving their own proper work of making as perfect as possible the religious body to which they themselves belong, they diminish its spiritual life, and weaken its hold on many of its members, by devoting their time, their energies, and their money to attack their neighbours, and to form a league for the purpose of demanding the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England.

At this design they have been at work for years. They have held many meetings. They have formed deliberate plans. They have raised large sums of money. They have organized a vast machinery of secretaries, agents, lecturers, and tract distributors in every part of the land, even in our remote country villages. They have great power in the Press, which is actively used in every direction to forward their views; and all this is daily going on in the midst of us, and most Churchmen know little or nothing about it, others take no interest in it, while a few are doing their utmost to make their fellow-Churchmen see what vital questions are involved in this struggle, and how greatly the best and dearest interests of themselves and their children depend upon the issue.

Disestablishment and Disendowment in England is a home question. It touches our very selves. It will be felt in every parish. It will affect every parishioner. It will change the position of every Churchman, whether clerical or lay, in the eye of the law; and, instead of our being members of a National Church, Disestablishment would make us citizens of a nation without a religion.

Disestablishment would leave the nation without any national recognition of God; would take away all religious sanction from our acts of government; would leave our Sovereigns free to be of any or of no religion; would make the Clergy no longer Pastors of parishes, but Ministers of congregations; would deprive the poor of those free spiritual ministrations which are now their national birthright, and so leave them in many cases to live without hope, and die without God. The openly proclaimed designs of the Liberationists include not Disestablishment only, but Disendowment also; and they are careful not to leave us in any doubt as to what they mean by Disendowment. It means, as advocated by them, the robbing the Church of England of all her cathedrals, all her parish churches and churchyards, all her tithes, all her glebe-houses and lands—even those most recently acquired; for all of them are by these self-constituted dispensers of justice to their neighbours, claimed as "national property," and as therefore belonging to the nation, and not to the Church. And having done all this; having made a chasm, deep, wide, and impassable, between the English Church and English Dissent, what do they promise us in return for all this enormous sacrifice? An impossible dream of religious equality, which, constituted as Englishmen are, never will be, never can be realized. And this is all. For this, we are to give up our National Church. For this, we are to declare ourselves a nation without a religion. For this, we are to be deprived of the countless gifts which the noble generosity, the self-denying labours of Churchmen have, age after age, and not the least in our own day and generation,* bestowed upon England's Church, in the firm belief that their free-will offerings for promoting the worship and glory of Almighty God would be safe in the guardianship of the generations of Englishmen that would come after them.

But you may well say, How can all this be brought about? It can only be accomplished by continually and persistently placing a perverted view of the Church's history, position, and work before the eyes of the English people; whilst no pains are

* The voluntary contributions of Churchmen to Church Building and Restoration alone since 1840 amount to about £35,000,000.

systematically taken to place the whole truth fully before them. Why is it that Liberationists have obtained a footing at all in England? It is because they have crept on cautiously, step by step, whilst Churchmen heeded them not. They worked hard for a specific object, whilst we did nothing of any value to counteract their work. They spent their money freely, whilst we thought it wiser to keep ours in our pockets. Thus they have acquired a name and position in the eyes of the people, which they cannot for a moment maintain, if Churchmen arouse themselves and do their duty; for then they will quickly see the wisdom of attending to their own proper business, and of giving up, what would then at once become, a hopeless attack upon the Church of England.

To aid this work we therefore earnestly call you, one and all. We live in no ordinary times, amidst no common dangers; and therefore no ordinary exertions are needed on the part of Churchmen to make up for the time we have lost, and to provide security for the contingencies of the future. The forces we have to contend against are well equipped, carefully trained, and provided with abundant supplies. They have secured already means for a vigorous and long-continued attack upon the Church. Our imperative duty, therefore, is faithfully to defend the inheritance committed to our trust, to quit ourselves like men, and to shrink from no labour or self-sacrifice necessary to secure victory in the end: for defeat entails not only dishonour, but loss; loss, which will fall immediately with crushing severity on the Laity of the English Church, with a severity which they have never yet for a moment realized. For should the present endowments of the Church be confiscated, it will require an annual subscription of £4,000,000 to give our 20,000 existing clergy the miserable pittance of £200 a-year each. And this of necessity must almost entirely come from the resources of the Laity, as the Clergy will then be too poor to contribute anything themselves. To prevent such a national calamity as this every patriotic Englishman should exert himself to the utmost to promote the maintenance of our National Church.

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UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

By the Author of "The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church."

I.

It is said, that the union of the Church with the State is contrary to the teaching of Holy Scripture, and is opposed to the will of God.

Whereas the fact is, that God Himself approved of the Union between Church and State, and Himself instituted such Union between the Jewish Church and Nation.

II.

It is said, that the peculiar circumstances of the Jewish Church and Nation may have rendered at that time such a union justifiable, as would not now be justifiable in any branch of the Christian Church, and the State or Nation in which it exists.

Whereas the fact is, that, while the circumstances of God's Church and any nation amidst which it exists differ, the *principle* of His treatment of both remains the same; so that what He Himself has enjoined in one age as His will cannot be questioned in another age as contrary to His will, *except on the express authority of His own words in Holy Scripture.*

III.

It is said, that there is Scriptural authority for condemning the union between Church and State, and that it is contained in the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He uttered before Pilate, namely, "My Kingdom is not of this world."

Whereas the fact is, that when our Lord Jesus Christ uttered

the words "My Kingdom is not of this world," He was not speaking of the union between Church and State at all, nor was He in any way referring to such an Union, but He was simply setting forth the spiritual nature of His kingdom, in reply to those who sought to show that the establishment of His Kingdom or Church must necessarily be in direct antagonism to the kingdom or empire of Cæsar.

IV.

It is said, that the Church of England cannot be included in the Kingdom which our Lord defined as His, forasmuch as she is of this world, in that she is recognised by the law of the land, and is endowed with a vast amount of property, and is by law invested with many earthly privileges.

Whereas the fact is, that our Lord's words referred only to the nature of His Kingdom, and not to the condition of her existence amongst the nations of the earth ; and further, if the Church could be shown as excluded from the definition of His Kingdom given by our Lord, because of her worldly adjuncts and possessions, then all the sects outside her would be excluded on the same principle, seeing that they enjoy State privileges, State protection, and State patronage, are established by Acts of Parliament, and hold their property by virtue of State-enrolled and State-controlled Trust Deeds.

V.

It is said that the principle of the union between Church and State is destructive of the spiritual rights and liberties of the Church, and that therefore it ought to be abolished.

Whereas the fact is, that any danger of encroachment by the State upon the spiritual rights and liberties of the Church does not arise from the *principle* of union between them, but from conditions of that union, which from time to time require readjusting, and which may be altered.

VI.

It is said, that in certain periods of the history of the Christian Church, the State has, as a fact, seriously encroached upon the spiritual rights and liberties of the Church, and that this is a sufficient reason for the dissolution of any union between them.

Whereas the fact is, that while the tendency of a State is to encroach upon the spiritual rights and liberties of the Church, Churches, or religious bodies within its borders, union with the State is not necessarily productive of such encroachments, and non-union of a Church with the State in which it exists is no effectual barrier against them.

VII.

It is said, that a State as such, while it is bound to look after and make proper and sufficient provision for the good order, government, and social and sanitary welfare of its subjects, owes to them no obligation whatever of a religious nature, and ought not to concern itself in making provision for their religious wants.

Whereas the fact is, that provision for men's religious wants is such an essential element of the means for securing to them good order, government, and social and sanitary happiness, that the obligation of a State towards its subjects in this respect is of the most primary character.

Throughout the history of the world it stands on record that all ancient nations, according to their light, in some form or other, made provision for the religious wants of their subjects.

VIII.

It is said that, while provision for man's religious wants is of the highest importance for the happiness of the individual and the welfare of the community, it does not devolve upon the State as such to make such provision, but that the responsibility of doing so rests with individuals and religious communities.

Whereas the fact is, that this is just how the ancient State of

England has always acted in the matter of making provision for the religious wants of its subjects. *It has done but little in the matter as a State.* But it has ever encouraged pious individuals and religious communities to do much; and thus by gifts and grants of property during their life, and by bequests after death, the Church of England has, in the course of hundreds of years, acquired the large property which she now possesses. The State legalized these voluntary gifts, grants, and bequests, on the part of individuals and communities, for making provision for the religious wants of its subjects in the different Parishes and Dioceses throughout the kingdom. The State originally accepted, and for many hundreds of years has been the guardian and trustee of this property.

IX.

It is said that, so many subjects of the State having refused to take advantage of the benefits of this property by reason of their being unable from certain causes to comply with the conditions of the trust, therefore the State ought, out of consideration to them, to break through the trust itself altogether, throw it overboard, and straightway proceed to deprive those *who do conform* to the trust of all interest in the property whatsoever, and also completely deprive or rob them of the whole of the property in question, and devote it entirely to alien objects. This is that policy which is variously described, and which a good many opponents of the Church are trying to carry out. Some call it the "Cessation of the Union of Church and State"; some "Disestablishment and Disendowment"; some the "Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control"; but plain words for it are Confiscation, Spoliation, or Robbery of the Church and Nation of the provision which has been made for their religious wants.

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The "Spiritual Liberty" of Nonconformists.

It is often argued that Disestablishment would give Churchmen greater freedom. It is ostensibly to secure this freedom that the so-called Liberation Society has been established. But in how very much less a degree true liberty is enjoyed by Nonconformists than it is by Churchmen few people sufficiently realize. The facts given below, with the comments thereon, all from Dissenting sources, ought to be known to and well weighed by all.

In February 1881 the case of Jones *v.* Stannard was argued before Vice-Chancellor Hall. The plaintiff represented the trustees of an Independent chapel at Huddersfield, of which chapel the defendant was minister. The pastorate of the chapel was held under a trust-deed, which defined the doctrines to be taught there. This trust-deed Mr. Stannard, on his appointment, accepted, though he claimed certain liberty in interpreting it. The trustees complained that Mr. Stannard's teaching during his pastorate was a violation of the trust-deed, and carried their complaint into the Vice-Chancellor's court. The case was heard at length, and Vice-Chancellor Hall ruled that Mr. Stannard could not continue minister of the chapel unless he complied strictly with the terms of the trust-deed. A Dissenting minister was thus compelled, by the order of a secular court, to alter his teaching or resign his pastorate.

Upon this case Mr. Baldwin Brown, the well-known Independent minister, wrote to *The Nonconformist* of March 24 : "Let us for very shame have done with the tone of lofty superiority which we are so fond of assuming with regard to creed-bound Churches We are ourselves more miserably bound than any of them. They at least have ancient creeds, and are judged with some relation to the development of Christian thought. But ours is arranged for us, apparently, by the Committee of a Society, with the aid of an unofficial circular to a few Ministers and Laymen, and it will be dealt with according to the strictest letter should it ever be brought into Court."

Mr. G. Vance Smith, an equally well-known Unitarian minister, and a member of the New Testament Revision Company, in a paper contributed to *Macmillan's Magazine*, made the following remarks :—

"The Huddersfield Chapel case well shows how stringently such restrictions may be made to operate—and a doctrinal schedule is not the only form in which they appear. The consequence is that a minister who deviates even a little in his ministrations from the

Trust conditions may be expelled from his pulpit by process of law. Nothing worse can happen to a clergyman ; and it is clear therefore, that the Nonconformist who is under such trammels, exposed, we may say, to the theological dictation of a body of chapel builders, or a chapel committee of perhaps ill-informed persons, is in no way exempt from "control" of a galling and offensive kind —certainly no more exempt than the clergyman who is amenable to his Bishop or the Law Courts."

A correspondent in the *Christian World* (Congregational) wrote : "We may shout as we like that we are Jews, and never were in bondage, but Pilate is in the Judgment Hall all the same. One good effect, it is to be hoped, will follow from this trial : that we shall see less popular clamour about our imaginary freedom, and less ravings against the trammels of the State Church. Dwellers in glass houses should not throw stones."

The *Inquirer*, a Unitarian paper, remarked : "Of course this is only a typical case. It is only one of we know not how many chapels that are in just the same position, but whose case does not come before the public. Now, we say deliberately, that this appears to us a far more galling tyranny than alliance with the State (as in the case of the Established Church), which our friends represent as so dreadfully oppressive ; and we further say that it is a delusion to call the Churches held in this bondage 'Free Churches.' Free, indeed !"

Mr. Paxton Hood, for many years a Congregational minister in Manchester, some years ago laid bare the intolerable pressure endured by Dissenting ministers in another form. He resigned his charge and went to America, "driven forth," as he declared, by the deacons. Upon the occasion of a presentation before leaving England, Mr. Hood used this remarkable language : The Church of England to him was the shrine and home of spiritual and ecclesiastical freedom. They might laugh at him if they would, but he said none of the sects were free, and amongst most Dissenting communities the ministers were too dependent upon their deacons for them to dare to be independent. From whence came our best books ? From whence did we obtain the books which stirred, which taught—the books of criticism and exegesis—the books of the scholar, the poet, and the novelist ? Did they come from any Dissenting community at all ; especially did they come from theirs ? Did they not come from the Church of England ? And where could a man stand so well as in a Church of England pulpit and say that which he dared to think and feel without the necessity of being challenged, *as soon as he got into the vestry, by some arrogant and ignorant deacon.*"

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Fifteen Statements about the Church of England.

1.—The Church is the Society which was founded by Jesus Christ Himself.

2.—In England, the Church was not "established," or set up by the Parliament. She existed long before it.

Earliest Recorded Bishops in Britain . .	A.D. 314.
First Archbishop of Canterbury . . .	„ 597.
First King of England	„ 827.
First Complete Parliament	„ 1295.

3.—No new Church was set up or established at the Reformation. The Church of England is the same Society after as before, only reformed; and holds the same Creeds as before, administers the Sacraments as before, and has the same three Orders of the Ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. These Orders have been handed down from the Apostles' time, in an unbroken succession, by the Laying on of Hands in Ordination.

4.—The Church of England never was a part of the Church of Rome, but was in communion with her up to the time of the Reformation. And while in communion with the Roman Church, the English Church continued to assert her own independence as a National Church, and struggled against every attempt on the part of the Church of Rome to take her independence away.

5.—The position of the Church of Rome, as regards doctrine, was not the same before the English Reformation as it is now. Her erroneous doctrines, which were then also held by the Church of England, were not put forth as necessary articles of faith, though enforced by Church censures. But after the separation between the two Churches, the Church of Rome formed them into a new creed, and said of that creed: "This is the true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved." This difference in the Creeds held by the Roman Church, and those held by the rest of the Catholic Church, gave rise to the distinguishing term *Roman* Catholic. Hence, the Church of England, never having held that new Creed, was never Roman Catholic.

6.—The Cathedrals, Parish Churches, and other property of the Church, never belonged to the Roman Church. They were built and founded by, and always belonged to, the Church of England.

7.—No Act of Parliament took the Property of the Church from one Religious Body and handed it over to another at the Reformation. The property of the Church of England belongs to her, and to no other body.

8.—The property of the Church (Glebe, Tithes, &c.) was not given to her by the State. It has been given to her voluntarily by Churchmen themselves, at different times during her long history.

9.—Church Property is not National Property. It was not given to the Nation, but to the Church. The Nation has never owned it.

10.—Tithes are not an extra burden on the tenant. Land which is tithe free is sold at a higher price than land which is charged with tithe. Now the tithes are paid direct by landlords whose land is subject to a tithe rent charge, the tenants paying a higher rent. The amount paid is the same as in the past, when the tenants paid rent and tithes, but is now paid only as rent, while the landlord pays the tithe portion.

11.—Tithes do not belong to the landlord. When he bought, or inherited the land, he did not buy or inherit the tithes. He bought or inherited the land subject to the tithes. He knew he would always have to pay them; therefore, if he bought the land, he paid so much less for it.

12.—If the Church were disendowed, tithes would still have to be paid. Only they would be paid to the State, as is now done in Ireland, instead of to the Church.

13.—"Disendowment" means the taking away of property which belongs to the Church. To take away property from its rightful owner without compensation, or without just cause, is to break the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal."

14.—Church Property has all been dedicated to the Service of God. If it is wrong to take away other kinds of property, it must be still more wrong to take away property which has been consecrated to the Service of God.

15.—"Disestablishment means, practically, that the State, as a State, shall no longer have any Religious Profession, or any laws or institutions in which such a profession is expressed or implied; and that there shall be no one bound by the law of the land to perform the Public Offices of Religion in any parish or place.

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THE FREEDOM OF THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

versus

THE FREEDOM OF THE MINISTERS OF THE SO-CALLED "FREE CHURCHES."

By the Author of "The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church."

The vigorous efforts made of late by the religious bodies outside the Church of England to change the designations by which they have hitherto been known are not a little remarkable. The names of "Nonconformists," "Dissenters," "Baptists," "Independents," and "Congregationalists," are now rapidly disappearing from the Nonconformist press, and are giving place to the assumptive designation of the "Free Churches," thereby claiming for Nonconformist bodies not only equal ecclesiastical status with the Church of England, but asserting for them a kind of monopoly of ecclesiastical freedom as in contrast with the state of bondage to which they allege that the Church of England is subject.

What the freedom of these so-called "Free Churches" really is in contrast with the freedom enjoyed by the Church of England, the following pages will briefly and plainly show:—

I. The Church of England is the old historical Church which has remained in uninterrupted identity amongst the people of this country from ancient British and Saxon times, teaching them the truths of the Gospel, and administering to them the consolations of religion amidst all the great changes and revolutions through which the nation has passed.

The "Free Churches" are but of yesterday. Their life and work are still untried by the strain and test of a prolonged series of social and national revolutions such as those through which the Church of England has lived and done her work.

II. Though the Church of England is hoary with antiquity, and though her constitution, life, and history are indissolubly interwoven with the events and traditions of the past, there never was a period in her existence in which she manifested such vitality, vigour, and energy in the fulfilment of her mission to the people of this country, in the achievement of remarkable progress, and in promise of future and increasing usefulness, as at the present time.

The "Free Churches," according to the testimony of their own advocates, though their existence is only shortlived, are showing signs of enervation, degeneration, disintegration, and general collapse, which indicate anything but a prominent place for them in the religious future of England.

III. In the Church of England, the Clergy of to-day have had nothing to do with drawing up the creeds, articles, rubrics, &c. They inherit them from the past.

In the "Free Churches," the ministers have likewise had nothing to do with drawing up their creeds, &c. They inherit them from the past; but, *as they inherit their chapels*, for their chapel and their creed go together and cannot be separated, unless they give up their property.

IV. In the Church of England, the creeds of the Church are set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.

In the "Free Churches," the creeds of the ministers are legally registered in their trust deeds.

V. In the Church of England, the creeds of the Clergy, as set forth in the book of Common Prayer, comprehend the condensed learning, wisdom, and knowledge of the greatest theologians and divines who have adorned the Church of Christ in all ages of her history.

In the "Free Churches," the creeds of the ministers have been drawn up and imposed on them by a lawyer or by lawyers, who may or may not, have been assisted in doing so by a chapel-building committee, or by a committee composed of deacons and members of the religious body concerned.

VI. In the Church of England, the Clergy at their ordination accept the creeds and rubrics of the Church as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, but with power to refer to the counsel of the Bishop in doubtful matters, and subject to a width of historical interpretation not allowed by and entirely unknown to

the law courts in interpreting the creeds of the "Free Churches" as set forth in their various trust deeds.*

In the "Free Churches," the ministers, on appointment to their Chapels, are obliged legally to accept the crude Creeds of their trust deeds, and are not allowed to modify any obsolete or objectionable clauses or expressions in them, neither have their trustees nor congregations power to do so; they must absolutely accept or reject them as they stand in the deed, without any qualification whatsoever.

VII. In the Church of England, the Clergy are appointed by the patron or patrons of their benefices.

In the "Free Churches," the ministers are *in theory* elected to their pastorates by the majority or by two-thirds or otherwise of the members of their communities, but *practically* they are in most cases appointed by the officers of these bodies, or by two or three men in the congregation wealthier, or of better social position, than their brethren.†

VIII. In the Church of England, unworthy influences and corrupt means may be used to secure the appointment of a clergyman to his living.

In the "Free Churches," confessedly, unworthy, reprehensible, and morally and religiously degrading means are often resorted to in connection with the appointment of Dissenting ministers to their pastorates.‡

IX. In the Church of England, once the Clergy are appointed to their benefices they owe no allegiance to, and are free from the control of, the patron or patrons of their benefices.

In the "Free Churches," when the ministers are appointed to their pastorates, they are always subject to the caprice, interference, and control of their patrons, the deacons, or others, and are liable to be starved out, or to be arbitrarily dismissed from their position by those who appointed them.§

X. In the Church of England, if the Clergy are accused of violating the Book of Common Prayer, they are liable to proceed-

* In the case of Jones *v.* Stannard in Chancery, January, 1881.

† See "Congregational Year Book," 1873, p. 106.

‡ See "Congregational Year Book," 1873, p. 106.

§ See the case of Mr. Gordon, a Congregational Minister at Reading, pp. 67 to 75; also "Congregational Year Book," 1870, pp. 244-7. Mr. Gordon was ejected from his position by the mere caprice of the congregation, which act was confirmed by the Court of Chancery.

ings in their own *Church* Courts presided over by judges who are members of the Church of England.

In the "Free Churches," if the ministers are accused of violating the creeds and regulations set forth in their trust deeds, they are liable to proceedings in the *State Court of Chancery* presided over by judges who may even be Jews or non-believers in any form of religion whatsoever.

XI. In the Church of England, even under the Public Worship Regulation Act, *three* persons are required to join in taking proceedings against a clergyman.

In the "Free Churches" any *one* duly qualified person may proceed against a minister on the alleged grounds that he has violated, or is violating, his trust deed.

XII. In the Church of England, if her Clergy are proceeded against on the grounds of the alleged violation of the Book of Common Prayer, their Bishops are empowered to stand between them and litigation, even in the Church Courts, and they can, if they see fit, stay proceedings.*

In the "Free Churches," if a minister be proceeded against on the grounds of the alleged violation of the trust deed of his chapel by any person competent to act in the matter, there is no one who can stand between him and the Court, or can stay proceedings; he must follow his accuser into the State Court of Chancery, and submit himself to its ruling.

XIII. In the Church of England, when a Clergyman is brought into the *Church Courts* on the grounds of having violated the formularies of the Church, the formularies dealt with are treated as historical documents, and are to a great extent interpreted in the light of history and contemporary opinion.

In the "Free Churches," when a minister stands before the Judge of the *State Court* of Chancery charged with violating his trust deed, the Judge will admit of no light from history or contemporary opinion not recognized in the trust deed, but will interpret the deed in strict accordance with that set forth within its four corners.†

XIV. In the Church of England, a Clergyman condemned by the *Church Courts* is liable to be visited with ecclesiastical censure, and to lose his benefice.

* See the case of Julius *v.* the Bishop of Oxford.
† See Vice-Chancellor's judgment in the case of Jones *v.* Stannard.

In the "Free Churches," if a minister be adjudged by the *State Court* of Chancery as guilty of violating his trust deed, he is liable to be ejected from his chapel, his office, and its emoluments.

XV. In the Church of England, if a Clergyman refuses to abide by the decision of the *Church Courts*, an order will be issued by the civil court for his committal to prison on the ground of his contempt of court, but *not on the ground of his religious belief or disbelief in, or arising out of, the question tried.*

In the "Free Churches," if a minister does not obey the injunction of the *State Court* of Chancery, he is also liable to be committed to prison for contempt of court.

XVI. In the Church of England, should it be deemed desirable to alter any of her formularies or legalised ecclesiastical arrangements, recourse must be had to Parliament for its sanction.

In the "Free Churches," should it be deemed desirable to alter the doctrines or regulations set forth in their trust deeds* recourse must likewise be had to Parliament for an Act to that effect.

XVII. In the event of the Church of England applying to Parliament for its sanction to any proposed change in her formularies, such changes would necessarily be subject to the voice and vote of every Member of the House, irrespective of his religious opinions or his non-religious opinions.

In case of the "Free Churches" applying to Parliament for an alteration of the doctrines and regulations set forth in their trust deeds, such proposed alterations would be subject to the voice and vote of every member of Parliament, whether Jew, infidel, or atheist.

All thoughtful men acquainted with the subject must perceive that a strange and startling future awaits the so-called "Free Churches" of England with respect to their trust deeds, the interpretation of them by the State Courts, and the certain necessary alteration of them by Parliamentary legislation. The facts summarised are simply these :—

No chapel or property can be secured to any denomination without a trust deed, nor can the teaching of any doctrines nor the observing of any religious ordinances be ensured in connec-

* See 34th and 35th Victoria, chap. 40, also 34th Victoria, chap. 25. See further "The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church," p. 91.

tion with any chapel unless they be specified in the deed. When these things are set forth in a deed, the tendency is for men to outgrow them, and to desire changes and alterations, not only with respect to obsolete expressions in connection with the things enjoined, but even with respect to the things themselves. Hence arise differences of opinion as to the meaning of the contents of the deeds, and as to whether they are being observed or violated.

These questions the State Courts of Law alone can determine. It is admitted on all hands that there are thousands of trust deeds of the "Free Churches" in this country which are being deliberately and openly violated at this moment. *This means plainly that there are thousands of ministers and congregations of the "Free Churches" holding their chapels and endowments in alienation from their trusts, and in known and determined violation of the law.*

We might go on much further pointing out the real freedom of the Church of England and her Clergy contrasted with the alleged and loudly boasted imaginary freedom of the so-called "Free Churches" and their ministers, but we think that we have said enough and adduced sufficient proof to show that in the matter of the possession of Religious and Ecclesiastical freedom the "Free Churches" possess it but in name. In reality they are not free, and in asserting this we are affirming no more than the most enlightened Dissenting Ministers have themselves with sorrow confessed, no more than their own literary organs have been compelled to admit, and no more than recent decisions in the State Law Courts have, notably in the case of *Jones* v. *Stannard*, decided.

We ask any thoughtful reader after perusing the foregoing statements to think out the matter for himself, and to discover, if he can, wherein the so-called "Free Churches" and their ministers are really *free* in the sense in which they use, and would have the public understand that word.

If they are not free to claim the protection of the State in their public worship without complying with the State demands set forth in an Act of Parliament, that they should certify their chapels as used for that purpose; if they are not free to hold religious and public worship in their chapels, except in compliance with the requirement of the State that the doors of

their chapels should be open to all comers, which applies even to their Church or fellowship meetings; if their ministers are not free to perform the marriage ceremony except in a building licensed by the State and in a manner prescribed by the State, the State officer being always necessarily present; and if their ministers are not free to bury their dead in churchyard or cemetery, except by power given to them by the State and in accordance with arrangements prescribed and limited by the State; wherein, we ask, with respect to these important religious matters are they, the so-called Free Churches and their ministers, *free?* wherein are they exempt from and independent of State control in their *external* arrangements as to the conduct of public worship, and the performance of their duties at marriages and funerals.

Then as to their *internal* affairs, if the so-called Free Churches and their ministers are not free to choose what doctrines they shall hold and teach, and what religious usages they shall observe, but are bound by those set forth in their antiquated trust deeds; if they are not free authoritatively to explain and determine in a case of dispute what the meaning of their own prescribed doctrines really is, but must refer the matter to a judge of the State Court, who may be a Jew or an infidel, for his final decision: if they are not free to admit members into their communities, and exercise acts of discipline upon them in accordance with their own ideas, but must do so in accordance with the terms laid down in their trust deeds—and if even when so exercising acts of discipline their proceedings are in case of appeal subject to a reversal in case the State Court should think fit, wherein, we ask, in their *internal* matters are they free?

Lastly, if when in the face of new light and knowledge they have outlived the theological narrowness of the doctrines of their trust deeds, and the merely humanly prescribed terms of admission to their fellowship which these deeds contain, wherein are they free, seeing that if they hold and teach their new ideas they do so as deliberate violators of the law of their trust deeds and of the State, and that, if they wish the deeds altered, they can only do so by Act of Parliament, in which Churchman, Jew, infidel and atheist would have a voice.

[For a full and exhaustive exposition of the principles dealt with in this tract, see the Dead Hand in the "Free Churches," by the same author.]

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No. 50.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT DISSENT.

By the author of "The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church."

No disrespect to Dissent is intended to be expressed by the above title. No institution, good in itself, can be made worse by having Acts of Parliament in its favour. But political Dissenters often speak of Acts of Parliament in connection with religious matters as if there were something altogether wrong about them. Thus they speak, somewhat disparagingly, of the Church of England as an Act of Parliament Church, of her Creeds as Act of Parliament Creeds, and of her Services as Act of Parliament Services.

They who speak thus do not well consider what they say, for Dissent itself is specially legislated for and regulated by Acts of Parliament, it receives privileges from them, and is subject to and controlled by them as well as the Church, in proof of which the following statements are true and cannot be contradicted:—

By the powers given them by Acts of Parliament:—

1. Dissenters acquire sites for their Chapels.*
2. *Certify* them for worship and *Register* them for the solemnization of marriages under certain limitations and restrictions.
3. Are protected from disturbance during public worship.†
4. When *Certified* for worship their Chapels and Endowments are exempt from the operation of the Charitable Trusts Acts.
5. Their Chapels are exempt from parochial rates and the Queen's taxes.‡

* See Sites Amendment Act, 45 and 46 Victoria, chap. 21.

† See 18 and 19 Victoria, chap. 81.

‡ See 38 and 39 Victoria, chap. 55, secs. 150 and 151.

6. No meetings can be held in them for religious worship, &c., with closed doors.
7. If put in trust their trust deeds are required to be enrolled in the Court of Chancery.§
8. The Charity Commissioners may appoint new trustees under their trusts.‖
9. Parliament as well as the State Law Courts has power to *interpret and give a definite meaning to the doctrines set forth in their Trust Deeds.*¶

By Acts of Parliament, Dissenting Ministers solemnise marriages, officiate at funerals, are exempt from the duties of many civil offices *not as common citizens*—which we are sometimes told—but as Dissenting Ministers.

Who will say after these facts that Dissenting Ministers are not merely in their capacity as citizens, but in their *religious capacity* as ministers of Nonconforming bodies, aided, restricted, and controlled in their religious worship and offices by Acts of Parliament?

Moreover, in addition to special Acts of Parliament granting religious privileges to *Nonconformists as such,* every Act of Parliament passed to the prejudice of the Church of England is so far an Act of Parliament in favour of Nonconformists.

It is, too, by an Act of Parliament that Nonconformists seek to suppress the religious opinions of Churchmen, to deprive them of their religious advantages, to take from them their inherited means of grace, and even to destroy the National Church.

§ See 9 George III., chap 36.
‖ See 13 and 14 Victoria, chap. 28.
¶ See 7 and 8 Victoria, chap. 45; also see *The Dead Hand in the "Free Churches"* by the same author.

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No 52.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN TWO PARISHIONERS

ON THE

CHURCH AND STATE QUESTION.

James. So, William, I hear you have had a Lecturer from the Liberation Society in your neighbourhood lately?

William. Yes; and I went to hear him, for I am strongly in favour of religious liberty, and the removal of the State Church altogether.

James. Why, I thought you had all you want of religious liberty already. You are a Nonconformist, and I am a Churchman, and under our equal laws you have as much liberty to worship God in the way you prefer as I have.

William. Yes; I know I have. But I don't like your Lord Bishops and your State-paid Clergy, and I want all religion put on a level. It is not fair that we should pay for your Clergy.

James. Stop, William, stop. Some one has been misleading you, or you have got hold of some of those mischievous tracts which tell you all kinds of untrue things about the Church.

William. I don't know what you call untrue things, but I know your Church was made by Act of Parliament in Henry VIII.'s time, and got all her property originally from the Roman Catholics, and I don't believe in a State-made Church, nor think it fair that your Church should keep tight hold of property given for the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion, and then go and teach quite differently.

James. Exactly as I thought, William. You have just got hold of the wrong end of the stick. Our Church did not begin at the Reformation, nor did it get any Roman Catholic property at the

Reformation. Our Church is over 1500 years old, and had much of the property she now has before the time of William the Conqueror.

William. You don't think I am going to believe that?

James. Whether you believe it or not will not alter the facts of the case. Look into history and judge for yourself. The Church of England is the old Church of the land, founded here in early times before our Saxon forefathers came to England. And now, 1500 years after, she is the same Church, with the same Apostolic Ministry, the same teaching, the same Sacraments as she had then.

William. I never understood this before.

James. Very likely not. Many men don't look into things for themselves, but take for granted that all is true which other people tell them, and so get led altogether astray.

William. Well, I should like to have a little more talk to you about the Church. Tell me about the tithes; did not the State give you them by Act of Parliament?

James. Why, William, you almost make me laugh. The State never gave the Church a penny of tithe. Tithe was paid to the Clergy as God's ministers hundreds of years before there ever was a Parliament in England. How, then, could Parliament have first given tithes to the Church?

William. How did she get hold of them, then?

James. I will tell you. When first the Gospel was preached in England, and men became Christians, they found the want of resident Clergy amongst them to teach themselves and their children. So the lord of the manor, or the great man of the place, went to the Bishop, and asked for a Clergyman to live amongst them and teach the people. And the Bishop said he would send one if they would build a church and a house for the Parson to live in, and give a tithe of the produce of the land to maintain him there for ever. They gladly agreed to this, and so a Parish was formed, a Church built, and a tithe of the produce given every year to the Parson. And all by the free gift of the lord of the manor or the owner of the land in those days. And now you know, William, how Parishes began, and where tithe first came from, as well as I do.

William. When was this?

James. Well, you know, Parishes did not grow up all over England in a day. They began to be formed very early, and grew up bit by bit as Christianity spread from one part of the country

to the other. But in the seventh century, in the time of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Parishes were spread all over England, and tithes paid to the Clergy in them.

William. But what has that to do with your Church? Then people were all Roman Catholics, were they not?

James. Not a bit of it. They were all English Churchmen, belonging to the National Church. There never has been but one Church in England from that day to this. The English people never liked the interference of Rome, and never willingly tolerated Papal supremacy in this country.

William. This is all new light to me. I never heard anything about this before.

James. Very likely not; but before you vote against the Church, my good friend, you should know something of her true work and history.

William. But I have read in print all that I have told you.

James. I daresay you have. But what I want you to do is not to believe what the enemies of the Church tell you about her, but to look into the matter for yourself.

William. Well, I am willing to do so.

James. Then you will soon change your mind, and like so many others you will refuse any longer to be guided by those who have so long misled you.

William. Tell me then what took place at the Reformation?

James. Briefly this. The Church of England, by the united action of the authorities in Church and State, reformed herself. The new additions Rome had made to the old faith were rejected. The usurped jurisdiction exercised for a time by the Pope in England was abolished. The Bible and the Prayer Book were translated into English. These were the chief things that were done.

William. But you have said nothing about what became of the Churches and Church Property.

James. The Cathedrals and the Parish Churches remained in the same hands as before. Of the 9,400 English Clergy before the Reformation all but 186 remained Clergy of the Church after the Reformation. The tithes and lands remained also in the hands of the Church, with the exception of those belonging to the monasteries and chantries, which were conferred by the Crown upon laymen.

William. Then there was no new Church introduced into England at the Reformation after all?

James. Certainly not.

William. But what did the Dissenters do at that time?

James. There were no Dissenting bodies in England then. They have all risen up since.

William. But I thought that the State had picked out the Church from amongst the other religious bodies, and established and endowed it, and that this was the cause of the grievance of which the political Dissenters now complain so bitterly.

James. Then, my friend, you are altogether in the wrong. Dissent arose from certain persons leaving the Church of England and making new religious bodies of their own accord. They went out from the old Church and formed another religion for themselves, with their own ministers and their own form of worship, and so Independents, Baptists, and other like sects first began to exist in England.

William. So this is why Dissenters have no share in the Church property, and have to pay their own ministers and build places of worship for themselves?

James. Exactly so. They left the Church of their own free will, and so gave up their rights in her property and her Churches.

William. That was only fair, when they did not wish to worship any longer in her fold.

James. Just so But from time to time many of the Dissenters have come back to the Church, and regained their old position, and all could do so if they wished.

William. Many will never do that.

James. I fear not. But the Church is not to blame for that, but themselves only.

William. I understand now why it is the political Dissenters want to disestablish and to disendow the Church. They find the Church has a position they have not, and they want to pull it down to their own level.

James. There, my friend, you have got very near to the truth.

William. But tell me, did not the Church in days gone by greatly persecute the Dissenters who had left her fold?

James. In the days when Dissent first began in England, and for a long time afterwards, religious toleration was a thing unknown. The Church laid a heavy hand on Dissent, and Dissent, when it had the chance, laid a heavy hand upon the Church.

William. But did not the Church in A.D. 1662 eject 2000 "godly ministers" from their livings and turn them out to starve?

James. Wait, my friend, you are a little too quick with your history. I must ask you to go back for a few years and look into the state of things then. You have heard of King Charles I.?

William. Of course I have.

James. Well, during his reign the Dissenters got the upper hand over the Church. When they came into power they upset the Bishops, and turned a large number of the Church of England Clergy and their families out of their homes, and put their "godly ministers" into them. So that they had no objection to Establishment and Endowment for themselves.

William. I had forgotten all about this.

James. So do many others when they talk about the "persecution" of 1662. The truth is, that when Charles II. was restored in 1660, Episcopacy was brought back, and the starved and exiled English Clergy came home again. But they found the Puritan ministers in possession of their livings, and all who conformed were allowed to remain, but some 800 at most (not 2,000, as commonly stated) had to give up the livings they had taken from the old Clergy, and these are the "2,000 persecuted ministers" of whom you hear so much.

William. This gives a very different view of the matter from that which I had believed before.

James. But then you have been accustomed to believe history as it is current amongst Dissenters, and have not looked into it for yourself to find out the actual truth.

William. Yes, but I shall always do so in future.

James. An excellent resolution, which will save you from many mistakes.

William. Now you have told me so much, I want to know a little more. You have explained many things which enable me to understand the situation much better than I did before. But still there are several points on which I wish for information. Would not the farmer be much better off if he paid no tithes?

James. In such a case he would be worse, not better off. The farmer does not pay tithes now. When he took the lease of his farm he paid so much less rent because of the tithe. If the latter were abolished, the rent would be raised just so much at once; but you forget into whose pockets the tithe goes now. The Clergy spend it

mostly in the district where they live. It goes into the pockets of the tradesmen and labourers of the locality, and sometimes of the farmers themselves. The removal of the tithe would impoverish many in the district and benefit nobody.

William. But are not the Irish people much better off for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church?

James. Not a penny the better. Tithe is still paid in Ireland as before Disestablishment. Not to the Parson indeed, but to the State. It is taken away from the locality and is paid to the Government. So the people lose the benefit of the tithes formerly spent amongst them, and the Church people besides have an additional tax put upon them in order to pay their own parson, who formerly cost them nothing.

William. This must greatly impoverish a district where the Clergyman was the chief resident gentleman before?

James. Of course it does. The clergyman spent his private as well as his official income in the locality, and now in many places both are gone. Since Disestablishment the Irish people are more impoverished, more discontented, and more averse to English rule than they were before.

William. This is very different from what we were told when we were asked to vote for Irish Church Disestablishment.

James. Yes; and fine things are now promised to the English people if the Church of England were disestablished; but, as the evil results here would be far deeper and more widespread, so the ruin would be far greater than in Ireland.

William. It would be well for all classes of Englishmen to think about this before it is too late; but after all are not at least half the people of England Nonconformists at present?

James. Here you are quite mistaken. English Dissent has done its utmost to prevent the true number of Nonconformists in England being known, and they have gone about boasting of its increase of late years, whereas really it has gone down in numbers all over the country.

William. But would not a religious Census easily find out the truth about this as in Ireland?

James. Yes. But English Dissenters vehemently oppose the truth being found out about this. Modern Nonconformists call it an interference with their "religious liberty," but the old Nonconformists would never have been ashamed of having the actual fact known

They gloried in being "a little flock," and called the Church "a mixed multitude."

William. But are there no means of finding out now something about the religious opinions of the people?

James. An official religious Census is the only thoroughly trustworthy means of doing so. But official returns exist from which a pretty accurate estimate can be formed.

William. Tell me what they are.

James. Taking the latest official information, out of every 100 of the population, the

Marriage returns show	75	Churchmen.
Navy	75	„
Army	68	„
Cemeteries (Buried in)	70	„
Workhouses	79	„

So that the result of a real religious Census would probably show that three-fourths of the people are Churchmen and one-fourth are Nonconformists.

William. But how do Nonconformists get over these actual facts?

James. They have made a Census after a strange fashion of their own. They build chapel after chapel not required by the population; they register public halls, rooms, barns, and even "Railway Arches," used for their services as "Dissenting places of worship," and then reckoning up all the seats in them, say, Nonconformists have provided "so many sittings" for public worship, which proves they have "so many members."

William. This is an easy way of increasing a denomination—but there will be a heavy day of reckoning for them when the actual number becomes known.

James. Just so. And that is why they fight so vehemently against a real religious Census.

William. But after all do not Nonconformists set a worthy example to the Church, by voluntarily paying for their own ministers and their services, whilst your Clergy are paid by endowments, so that you have to pay nothing?

James. There again you are greatly mistaken. Churchmen give vast sums yearly for the support of the Church. For the last forty years they have given £1,000,000 every year for Church building

and Church restoration. In 1890 they gave £589,640 for voluntary schools, whilst the same year all the Dissenters only subscribed £96,976 for this purpose. So that probably in addition to her endowments the Church raises yearly by voluntary subscriptions as much as all the Dissenters give for the support of their religious worship.

William. Then the Church has a great voluntary system of her own?

James. Without doubt she has. And remember she offers the ministrations of the Gospel to all the English poor without money and without price, whereas Nonconformity, with rare exceptions, only ministers to those who can afford to pay for their seats.

William. But are Protestant Nonconformists willing to ally themselves with Irish Roman Catholics to pull down the old National Church?

James. Certainly. They have no hope of destroying the Establishment without it. They will have to make a bargain with the Irish Home Rulers to join them in pulling down and robbing the National Church, and a heavy price the Irishmen will demand for their share in the work.

William. I don't think Englishmen will ever stand this. I am, as you know, a Nonconformist myself, but I should both work and vote against the destruction of the Establishment by Irish Roman Catholic votes.

James. And I believe many other honest and straightforward Nonconformists, when they understand what this agitation for Disestablishment will end in, will do the same thing.

William. Anyhow, I have heard enough to prevent my ever supporting a Disestablishment candidate; and I shall go now and talk the matter over with some of my friends, and tell them a bit of my mind.

James. There will be many more who will come to that way of thinking if you tell them all the talk we have had together.

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No. 58

Hymn for Church Defence.

WORDS BY THE REV. S. J. STONE, M.A.

'Her foundations are upon the holy hills; the Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob."—Ps. lxxxvii. 1, 2.
"God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be removed; God shall help her, and that right early."—Ps. xlvi. 5.
"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning."—Ps. cxxxvii. 5.

Round the Sa-cred Ci-ty ga-ther E-gypt, E-dom, Ba-by-lon; All the war-ring hosts of
error, Sworn against her, are as one: Vain the leaguer! her foundations Are upon the holy
hills, And the love of the E - ter - nal All her state-ly tem-ple fills. A - men.

Get thee, watchman, to the rampart!
Gird thee, warrior, with thy sword!
And be strong as ye remember
In your midst is God the Lord:
Like the night mists from the valley,
These shall vanish one by one,
Egypt's malice, Edom's envy,
And the hate of Babylon.

But be true, ye sons and daughters,
Lest the peril be within;
Watch to prayer, lest in your slumber
Stealthy foemen enter in;
Safe the mother and the children
If their will and love be strong,
While their loyal hearts go singing
Prayer and praise for battle song.

Church of God! if we forget thee
Let His blessing fail our hand,
When our love shall not prefer thee
Let His love forget our land—
Nay! our memory shall be stedfast
Though in storm the mountains shake,
And our love is love for ever,
For it is for Jesus' sake.

Church of Jesus! His thy Banner
And thy Banner's awful Sign:
By His Passion and His Glory
Thou art His and He is thine:
From the Hill of His Redemption
Flows thy sacramental tide:
From the Hill of His Ascension
Flows the grace of God thy Guide.

Yea; thou Church of God the Spirit!
His Society Divine,
His the living Word thou keepest,
His thy Apostolic line.
Ancient prayer and song liturgic,
Creeds that change not to the end
As His gift we have received them,
As His charge we will defend.

Alleluia, Alleluia,
To the Father, Spirit, Son,
In Whose will the Church at warfare
With the Church at rest is one;
So to Thee we sing in union,
God in earth and Heav'n adored,
Alleluia, Alleluia,
Holy, Holy, Holy Lord. Amen.

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Prayer for the

Preservation of our National Christianity.

O God of peace and truth, rebuke the spirit of lawlessness and discord which is breaking in upon this Church and Nation, restrain its abettors, and give grace to all who minister in Thy name, that like faithful servants and soldiers of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, they may stand in the breach, and omit no part of their duty in this day of danger; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Church in Wales.

In the year 1870, when the subject of the Church in Wales was before the House of Commons, Mr. Watkin Williams, afterwards one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, having moved a Resolution in favour of its Disestablishment, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, opposed the motion, and said :—

"My honourable and learned friend states that the Church of Wales is a complete, separate Church ; and here he comes to what I would call the difficult part of his case, because, except for the sake of truth and for conventional purposes, there is really no Church in Wales. The Welsh Sees are simply four Sees held by the suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and form a portion of that province as much as any four English Sees in that province. My honourable and learned friend says, and shows, that there was a time when the Welsh Church was a separate Church. No doubt that is perfectly true ; but at the same time it is necessary to go back nearly 1,300 years for the purpose of proving that distinct and separate existence, and 1,300 years form a period

in which the waves of time effectually efface any foot-prints that may have been made on the sands.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS: Seven hundred years.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think my honourable and learned friend does not wish me to enter upon the point of the real nature of the union which occurred at the time of St. Augustine?

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS: There was no union even in form until after the death of Griffith, the last Archbishop of Wales, in 1115, who was succeeded by Bernard the lawyer.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am willing to make my honourable and learned friend a present of those six hundred years for the purpose of the present discussion, and to say that, as regards the identity of these Churches, the whole system of known law, usage and history has made them completely one. My honourable and learned friend should reflect that it was not by the action of Rome that the whole of England was converted after the Saxon invasion. The history of Christianity has shown that a very large portion of England was converted not by the action of Roman Missionaries, but from the North; and my honourable and learned friend might just as well set up the doctrine of a separate Church for the Northern portion of England as for Wales. There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England. After hearing

the latter sentences of my honourable and learned friend's speech, I can hardly say for what he recommends us to vote; but he entertains the opinion that it is right that the Establishment of the Church and its union with the State should cease to exist in the said dominion and principality of Wales. I will not say what it would be right to do, provided Wales were separated from England, in the same way that Ireland is, and provided that the case of Wales stood in full and complete analogy to that of Ireland in regard to religious differences. But the direct contrary of this is the truth. I think, therefore, it is practically impossible to separate the case of Wales from that of England. That is not my assertion alone, it is evidently the belief of my honourable and learned friend himself. He has not said that we can disestablish the Church in Wales and leave the Church of England established. Nay, more, he has gone very far indeed towards saying the reverse, because he said: "It may be said, 'If you disestablish it in Wales, you may disestablish it also in Cornwall and Yorkshire,' and in answer to that I say as a Welshman, 'Let Cornwall and Yorkshire look after themselves.' I will add that whenever those places wish to disestablish their Church they shall have my hearty support." I am not making any unfair assumption, or endeavouring to entrap my honourable and learned friend into an admission that he does not intend to convey, when I say that the real question which he endeavoured to raise was the

disestablishment of the Church of England. The candour of my honourable and learned friend is not less remarkable than the clearness with which he has treated the subject, and he has stated frankly and fairly that which, even if it had not been stated, would have been sufficiently obvious. **We are not prepared to enter upon any crusade for that purpose. We do not think it our duty, in the first place, to endeavour to determine that question by any abstract arguments about National Establishments. If there are those who consider that National Establishments are opposed, under all circumstances, to the principle of the Christian Religion, we do not belong to the number of such persons.**"—*Speech in the House of Commons, May* 24, 1870.

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Parliamentary Grants to Dissenting Ministers in England.

Much ignorance and misconception exist as to the nature and amount of public money received by Dissenters in past times. Many persons are aware of the grants made to Irish Presbyterians under the name of the *Regium Donum*, which, having been paid annually from the days of Charles II. to the year 1869, was then commuted for a lump sum, taken from the revenues of the Disestablished Church of Ireland, and amounting to £700,000; but few are acquainted with the fact that similar grants were annually made for nearly 130 years to Dissenting ministers in England. It may be worth while, therefore, once for all, to state the facts of the case.

The grant to Dissenting ministers in England was instituted in 1722 at the instance of a certain Mr. Burgess, secretary to the Princess of Wales, in grateful remembrance of the kindness he had received at the hands of Dissenters during the period of his education. The grant was distributed by nine Dissenting ministers, chosen in equal proportions from the three leading sects of that day, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. The strictest secrecy was enjoined on them as to the recipients of the bounty, and this was maintained until the abolition of the grant in 1851; for the first fifty years indeed (down to 1775) there is no intimation in the public records as to the objects for which the sum was given. In 1804 the payment was transferred from the Civil List to the Parliamentary votes, and from that time it appears in the Appropriation Acts. The amount of the grant may be ascertained

from various Parliamentary returns, particularly those called for by Lord Ashley in 1840, and by Mr. W. Williams in 1845. From 1722 to 1775 it amounted to £88,400; from 1775 to 1804, to £49,300; from 1804 to 1834, to £49,229; and from 1834 to 1845, to £20,418; and if we make allowance for the five years that it was continued after 1845, the total would amount to about £216,660. Although the names of the recipients have never been revealed, some light is thrown on the matter by the report of a Parliamentary Committee in 1847, to which reference is made in the debate that took place on the subject in the House of Commons in 1848. The treasurer of the fund stated to the Committee that in the three previous years grants had been distributed as follows:—To Presbyterians, 166; to Independents, 443; and to Baptists, 461. It was also stated in the course of the debate by Mr. Kershaw, that the Welsh were credited with having received the bulk of the money; and this seems to have been admitted by the treasurer, who justified before the Committee the inequality of the distribution on the ground that Wales was a peculiarly Dissenting district. It is perfectly true that the grant was abolished at the request of the Dissenting bodies themselves; but it is also true that the agitation for its abolition cannot be traced farther back than to the year 1834, and that the reception of the grant had been justified by such leading members of the Dissenting sects as Edmund Calamy and Dr. Evans at its first institution, Dr. Reed and Dr. Pye Smith at the time of its termination. The grant was open to grave objections on the score both of the secrecy with which it was administered and of its restriction to the three sects already mentioned, to the exclusion of the Wesleyans and other bodies, which had risen to importance since the institution of the grants.

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The Church of England the Church of the English People.

1. **The Church of England** is a part of the one holy Church founded by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and it is known in law as **the National Church,** and authorised teacher of the Christian religion in this Land.

2. The ancient **Cathedrals and Parish Churches,** and the property of the Church in **Glebe Lands and Tithes,** were hundreds of years ago **given by the then owners of the soil** to God's service and the people's benefit. A great increase in the number of endowed Churches in this century is likewise due to the free gifts of pious persons.

3. **Parish Churches**—except in some few cases of pew-rented District Churches—are by law **freely open to the religious use of all Parishioners,** who may also claim as their right the spiritual help and ministrations of the Clergyman of the Parish.

4. **The State,** as the **Guardian and Trustee** of the property of the Church, has from time to time varied the use and management of its revenues, the better to promote God's service and the spiritual welfare of the people.

5. Now, however, the **State is asked** by men who advocate the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England **to betray its trust,** and to be not the guardian but **the spoiler of the Church's property.**

6. **The Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church means**—the separation of religion from any legal connexion with the Sovereign or with the State—it means the placing of ancient Cathedrals under secular Commissioners, and it means also the taking of some of the Church's revenues by the State for secular purposes.

7. **The Working Classes,** now entitled to vote for Members of Parliament, are told that they will be great gainers by these proceedings. Let them judge for themselves whether they will be wise in helping to bring about a change of law which could not possibly do them good.

8. **Men who understand** how the instructions and ministry of the Clergy help their family comfort—fathers who wish to see their children obedient—their sons honest and industrious, their daughters diligent and modest—must **value a free and open Church, and welcome the teaching of the Clergy,** and their visits in time of sickness and distress.

9. **The Tithe Rent-charge,** which has hitherto helped to maintain the parochial clergyman, it is proposed to divert to secular use, without considering that it has from time immemorial been dedicated to the honour and service of God.

10. **Disestablishment and Disendowment** might close the People's Church—it might drive out of the Parish the resident clergyman, usually spending within it not only the revenues of his benefice, but his own private income—it might deprive the parishioners of a teacher and a friend; but it **could not raise the workman's and labourer's wages, or increase their home comforts by cheapening their house-rent, food, or clothing.**

CONCLUSION.

No true Englishman will vote for Disestablishment and Disendowment when he finds that they mean

ROBBING GOD of HIS HONOUR,

ROBBING THE STATE of its RELIGION,

and **ROBBING the PEOPLE of their CHURCH.**

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No. 66.

The Freedom of the Church.

What Church is more free already than our own Church of England? What are the two tests of freedom? They are surely these—freedom of opinion and freedom of practical development. Does not the Church of England enjoy both of these to a very large extent indeed? Our freedom of opinion has indeed been thrown at us as a reproach. I confess I look upon it myself as our glory. So long as there is a faithful adherence to the main doctrines of Christianity, and a loyal obedience to the Church in practice—so long as both these exist—a very considerable latitude of opinion is allowed. I am quite sure that the Church is a gainer from the existence of different schools of thought; and for this reason. No man, no body of men, is perfect all round; and if you try to expel one type of thought from the Church, why, the Church must be impoverished to that extent. And when I ask myself whether this freedom of thought is not due, in a very great degree, to the fact of the Church being established, I am unable to answer this question in any other way than in the affirmative. It seems to me that the fact of the establishment secures this freedom in two ways. First of all, the broad ægis of the law is held over all parties. The triumphant majority, whatever it may be for the moment, has no power to oppress the minority. And then, secondly, by the fact of the establishment, the Clergy are brought into contact with the life of the nation, and are thus put in harmony with its manifold and varied interests. These two facts, it seems to me, are a most valuable guarantee against narrowness. But I turn to the other point—freedom of practical development. Has any Church—I had almost said from the beginning—but has any Church in recent centuries shown anything like the capacity of practical development which our Church of Eng-

land has exhibited during the present generation? Do we speak of missionary enterprise, whether at home or abroad? Look at her various evangelistic agencies! Do we turn to the educational movement? The Church was the earliest in the field of primary education—the Church at this moment educates fifty per cent. more children than the Board Schools, and many times more children than all other religious bodies together. Do we look, again, at philanthropic works? Turn to the statistics of your Hospital Sunday, and you will find that considerably more than two-thirds of the whole amount contributed comes from the Church of England. And so I might go on. Freedom, therefore, we have—freedom of opinion within all reasonable limits, and freedom of practical development to a very great extent. Of course I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that there are difficulties here and there, and that now and then the shoe pinches. It must be so with every human arrangement. But what am I to say of that word "liberation?" When I strike off a man's fetters, when I open his prison door, when I disencumber him from his debts, I can understand how I can speak of liberating him; but when I strip off his clothes, when I rob him of his purse or his watch, when I turn him naked into the streets—as naked as when he came into the world—why then I should consider that it was a little abuse of terms to speak of liberation. Is this comparison an extravagant caricature? If you suspect this, I would ask you to study the programme of Disestablishment which the Liberation Society put forward a few years ago. I need not dwell on that programme. You know how they proposed to make a clean sweep of everything. I like to hear a spade called a spade, and I confess I should feel much more respect for this movement if it bore some other name.—*The Bishop of Durham.*

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No. 70.

What is Queen Anne's Bounty?

PEOPLE often talk of the "Bounty Fund" and of "Queen Anne's Bounty," but few comparatively know what it means and what was its origin. The following are the facts:—

In old days before the Reformation the Pope was continually trying, and too often succeeding in his attempt, to place the Church of England under the yoke of Rome.

His authority was always regarded as an usurpation, but still he exercised it.

One way he had of showing it was to demand from the better endowed Clergy a certain portion of their first year's income when they were appointed to a living.

These portions were called "first fruits," or "annates."

When in the time of Henry VIII. the Church for ever threw off the Papal yoke, the King, who claimed to be Head of the Church, claimed also and received these first fruits, which had been paid to the Pope; and all his successors, with the exception of Queen Mary, until Queen Anne, did the same. But when Queen Anne came to the throne she, acting under the advice of Bishop Burnet, refused to accept them.

The Clergy, however, still continued to pay them, but the fund thus produced, instead of going to the Crown, was devoted to the increase of poor Benefices, and to other purposes by which the Church might be made more useful.

These first fruits average about £15,000 a-year, but various sums are being continually placed in the hands of the Board of Queen Anne's Bounty by pious Churchmen from year to year and the fund now administered produces something like £160,000 per annum. But with the exception of certain Parliamentary Grants made in the years 1809—1820, amounting, in all to £1,100,000, the money has entirely been provided by Churchmen for the use of the Church.

Queen Anne did not *give* anything to the Church; she only *gave up* something which her predecessors for 200 years had been taking, with very little show of right, from the Clergy.

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How the Church of England was Established and Endowed.

Extracts taken by permission from a Charge by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The faithful men of every clime
Who God's own rule obey,
The Holy dead of every time
The Church of Christ are they.

St. Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, drew from the ministry of the Jewish Church an example for that which he was establishing among Christians, when he told the Corinthians that, as they who minister about holy things live (or feed) of the things of the temple, "Even so hath the Lord ordained that "they which preach the Gospel should live of the "Gospel."

This, then, is the foundation on which from the earliest times the Church claims a provision for her ministers. As Christian citizens, we believe that a Church freely established, as it is in England, is the best mode of advancing the best interests of religion.

Let us now consider how the establishment of that Church was begun and has been carried on to this day.

Not by the State was this establishment founded.

"Long before the earliest missionaries had finished "their work; while only a few of them had settled "permanently here or there; and most of them were "moving from valley to valley, or from headland to "headland; as we read of them or follow their traces,

" that process of establishing and endowing had " already begun, which has been continued among " ourselves until this day." . . . " Plots of land, " glebes, and tithes were given to missionaries and " their successors, that religious men might cultivate " and civilise and worship;" . . . " given through- " out the land, far and wide, for parish churches, " chapels, and oratories, that not a mile of land " might lack its witness; given for schools, too, " for the children, and colleges to train Christian " teachers."

Now these lands, or the *tithes* or tenths thus given for the *endowment* of the Church, are in nearly every case *traceable to personal deeds of gift*: " there is no " enactment ordering the gifts to be made: and there " is no State deed of gift."

" Where we find a chief, or a *king*, mentioned as " *the giver*, there is stress laid — as though to defend " him from the charge of giving away the property " of others — *on his gifts being of property belonging* " *to himself*."

" *Tithes* are often *protected* by enactment, because " *violence* or fraud easily interferes with them; but " they are always treated as a property which had " come down *like any other possession*. There are no " enactments instituting them."

Magna Charta, the Great Charter as it is called, of English liberty, more than six hundred and seventy years ago, thus speaks of the Church in England: " 'The Church of England shall be free, and shall " 'have all her rights and liberties inviolable,'" that is " not to be curtailed or injured."

" Those rights of hers are on the same footing as " belong to all other persons and possessions. Private " possessions they were, and were never made over " even to the Church at large *as a public body*, much " less to the State." . . . As a vast union of individuals on sacred common terms she has a being or existence of her own, but she is not *an owner*. " She cannot touch

" any of the possessions which are called, and are in " every sense, Church property. They are in trust, and " by trust belong to persons definitely known in par- " ticular places as Rectors, Vicars, Bishops, etc.; and " this guaranteeing and establishing of the Church has " secured to every creature in England a native right " to its ministrations. It has secured to every minister " independence from personal dictation, a footing from " which to speak the truth freely and fearlessly," and to teach without hindrance the things which are necessary to salvation, the good tidings of the Gospel.

" It fetters or checks the religious belief or freedom " of no man. The Church is free to respect, to admire, " to commend to imitation the Christian work of those " who labour close beside her but do not see with her; " and she loves themselves," while deploring the earthly partings of those who in spirit are not parted. " But " in many vast districts she is alone in keeping Christian " faith and morals living."

" It is a common reproach, 'The Church did not " keep pace with the population.'" The supposed inference is, " Let the State have the regulation of her means of doing so." " But in its own departments, " say, as to housing the poor, as to emigration, legis- " lation in aid of sobriety, protection of women and " children, and above all education, the performances of " the State are tardy and puny as compared with the " labour and the expenditure of the Church in her own " departments."

It is easy in these times to bid for the vote of an elector by making large promises, and by holding out the prospect of free education and the like, as obtainable by appropriating to other uses, amongst other funds, these endowments which have been the property of the Church for all these years.

But these promises, these prospects, are they to be relied upon? Even were the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Church affairs of such little moment, and the pecuniary gain from them to the

public so considerable, what would be the cost of these alterations? If you confiscate the property of the Church, will nothing be lost which is now belonging to all Churchmen, high and low, as well as to the Clergy?

"The trifling percentage of English acreage, which" (while it contributes in rates, taxes, and all other ways as much toward the public wealth as any other land) "binds on a host of men and families the duty of caring "energetically for the welfare in mind and body of such "masses of the people, would no longer carry this obli- "gation. The tithe rent-charge would cease to be paid "by tenants for these good purposes, but would still "have to be paid for some purpose, or go as rent to the "landed proprietor.

"Religious Nonconformists say they should gain "nothing by the change, and it is impossible to see "how they could. And who or what would gain? "Irreligious Nonconformists to any form of Christian "or Natural Religion would have gained their object "*for the time*."

"Not a soul would be richer, happier, better—and "in all security, independence, 'liberty of prophesying,' "right of worship, right to aid and consolation, mutual "reverence and order, our great history, hopes of the "future, England would be impoverished indeed!"

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Why the Church should not be Disestablished.

The Earl of Selborne:—

"There are persons who talk as if all this might be taken away, and yet nobody lose anything—who pretend to think that it might be better for the Church to be stripped of all its temporal endowments; who even accuse those Churchmen who wish to keep what is their own, and who repel with indignation schemes for taking it away, of want of faith in their Church as a spiritual institution. A great Englishman of the last century, Edmund Burke, had very little patience with language of this sort, then used by the promoters of revolution in another country: he called it 'the language of fraud'—'the cant and gibberish of hypocrisy.' I will use milder forms of speech; I will only say, that it is difficult to think such talk quite honest and sincere, though doubtless some persons may repeat it who do not perceive how very hollow and unreasonable it is. Is there any man who really supposes that the work of a Church, any more than other kinds of work, can be carried on all over the kingdom, or indeed in any place, without means? Did not an Apostle say (and he said it was the Lord's ordinance), that 'they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel?' Do Nonconformists carry on their work without buildings of their own, appropriated to that purpose, or without a settled ministry? Can either of them be maintained without money? Have they not also their own endowments? and do not they also wish to keep what they have got? It is not so many years ago (1844) that a powerful Nonconformist body (one of those most hostile to the Church of England) went to Parliament to be confirmed and quieted in their possession of a considerable number of chapels and other endowments, to which their titles

had been found to be more than doubtful in law. They had deviated, in points of the first importance, from the doctrines held by their founders; but Parliament, by the Dissenters' Chapels Act, gave them what they asked.

"I wonder what those who talk in this way suppose would happen to members of the Church of England, rich and poor, if they were deprived of the means already provided for the maintenance of their ministry, and of their religious services, throughout the land."—*The Endowments and Establishment of the Church of England* (1886), pp. 34, 35.

The Bishop of Rochester (now Bishop of Winchester):—

"Our own diocese is perhaps as typical an instance as can be found of what disestablishment would mean; and, without specifying localities, which clearly would be inexpedient, I would simply explain that, having visited every consecrated Church and parish under my jurisdiction, I have a personal knowledge of what I write. Of small rural parishes in Kent and Surrey, I cannot see how, in at least thirty-three, the Church could continue to be maintained. Some would say, many more. In one important but difficult parish outside South London proper, I should be very anxious about at least seven. In South London let the very localities speak for themselves. Deptford, Battersea, Camberwell, Kennington, Lambeth, Newington, Southwark, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe represent parishes in most of which pew rents are a simple impossibility, offertories barely suffice for Church expenses, endowment mainly comes from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the stipends of fifty-six curates are now supplied. With disestablishment 'Paganism' would soon recover its ancient and sinister significance; the Church's work would have to be done from missionary centres of celibate clergy, who, if they could supply in some degree the public ministrations of the Church, could in no sense be the pastors of the people. The sick would be left to die without consolation, the poor and afflicted would no longer have the power of claiming or receiving the tender sympathy and personal instruction of their own authorised clergymen; the best

and cheapest kind of police for the masses would be suddenly dismissed about their business, and it is no exaggeration to say that the entire country would suffer."—*Church Defence, the Duty of the Laity. A Letter to the Lay Members of the Rochester Diocesan Conference, August*, 1885.

R. Bosworth Smith, Esq., M.A. :—

"The Church of England has long been pre-eminently the Church of the poor. It opens its doors and its ministrations to all who care to avail themselves of them. During the last fifty years it has covered the land with hundreds of new churches and has rebuilt or enlarged many hundreds more, and all from the voluntary contributions of its devoted members. It is no longer a political institution, in any low sense of the word; still less is it, as popular orators have recently been describing it, 'a hotbed of Toryism.' It took up the cause of popular education when no political party would have cared to do anything to educate the poor, and it supplied the vast majority of country parishes with excellent schools, which it supported for years and is supporting still. It is the most liberal and tolerant and national of all existing national Churches. Its cathedrals are the delight and the despair of Churches that are less ancient and less historical. Its chief dignitaries have been, many of them, among the men of whom England is most proud and who have made England what it is. It has been the nursing mother and the mainstay of hundreds of charitable organisations and institutions. The parsonage of the country clergyman has, in the vast majority of cases, long been the centre of nearly all the good that has been done in the country parish—the day school, the night school, the coal club, the clothing club, the lending library, the penny savings bank, the allotment ground, the coffee tavern, the temperance movement—and the parson himself, in a like majority of cases, has been the friend, the helper, and the adviser, in things temporal as well as things spiritual, of every inhabitant of his parish, most of all of the poor, the widow, the orphan, the infirm, and the afflicted Never, in a word, in the whole course of history, has the Church of England

shown more exuberant evidence of energy and vitality than it is doing at this day."—*Reasons of a Layman and a Liberal for opposing Disestablishment. Letters to the* TIMES, *October and November*, 1885.

THE LATE BISHOP OF CARLISLE :—

"I can quite understand that some person may honestly argue in this case, as in that of the influence of the Church of England in foreign parts, that her work will be still more effectually done when she is liberated from State control. The thing might be arguable if liberation did not involve confiscation, though even then I doubt much whether the work could go on as well as it does now. I doubt much whether we should have the same combination of men and the consequent liberality and breadth of view, the same real catholicity and freedom from all the narrowness of sect, which at present we happily enjoy. But, in reality, I do not believe that it is of any use to forecast what would be the condition of things if the Church were disestablished and not to a great extent disendowed; disestablishment may be the desire of some good and honest people,—I have known a very earnest Dissenter to say 'Disestablish the Church, and I am a Churchman to-morrow,'—disestablishment has for some, both inside and outside the Church, many and real attractions, but it is only disendowment that will tell much in electioneering speeches, and it is only this which will float disestablishment through the House of Commons. Do not, therefore, let us deceive ourselves; but let us consider the ruin which disestablishment means to our country villages, and to the work which we have been doing during the last half century. In the name of the day labourer, on behalf of my mountain churches, on behalf of the poor throughout the land, I plead for things as they are, and I pray that we may be let alone.—*Sermon at the Church Congress, Portsmouth, October 6th*, 1885.

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Was the British or Anglo-Saxon Church Roman Catholic?

By the Rev. Dr. LITTLEDALE.

THIS is a question which Roman Catholic controversialists are asking just now, and answering thus: "Of course they were, that is too evident to be disputed by any honest and fairly read person; and as all the ancient endowments were given to, and all the ancient churches built for, Roman Catholic purposes, the Anglicans who possess them now are mere usurpers and robbers, so that if right were done, these donations would be reconveyed to the Anglo-Roman body in communion with the Pope."*

There are two leading flaws in this statement, apart from several minor ones, which seriously weaken its force. In a

* The Roman Catholic Bishops of England issued in 1826 an "Exposition of Faith and Declaration," wherein these words occur: "British Catholics are charged with entertaining a pretended right to the property of the Established Church in England. We consider such a charge to be totally without foundation; we declare that we entertain no pretension to such a claim. We regard all the revenues and temporalities of the Church Establishment as the property of those on whom they are settled by the laws of the land. We disclaim any right, title, or pretension with regard to the same." This language cannot be explained away as meaning only a disclaimer of any right which a secular law court would recognise. It covers the whole ground.

former paper we showed that there is a clearly marked difference between what is Catholic, and so common to all Christendom from the first, and what is only Roman Catholic, and peculiar to the Church of Rome alone. We also pointed out that what is Catholic must belong to all *time* as well as to all *places*, so that even a doctrine or custom which at any given date is seen to prevail over all Christendom is not therefore Catholic, unless it can be traced back to the first Christian ages. If we can put our finger on the date when it begins, and show that it was unknown previously, then it is not Catholic.

So then, before we are called on to say whether the ancient Church of this country was Roman Catholic, our opponents have to answer the far more serious and difficult question—Was the Church of Rome itself Roman Catholic when St. Gregory the Great sent his missionaries to England?

Now, without going into minute details, it may be briefly said that the most obvious and broad marks of distinction between Roman Catholics and Anglicans in the present day are these:—Roman Catholics hold (1) that the Pope is, by Divine charter, sovereign ruler of the whole Church, supreme judge of the faithful, bishop of every see, and infallible in deciding matters of faith and morals; (2) that the Blessed Virgin Mary and other Saints are to be invoked in prayer, and solicited for the bestowal of grace and favours; (3) that the Blessed Virgin was immaculately conceived; (4) that images and pictures may receive secondary worship and homage in honour of the personages they represent; (5) that the laity must never partake of the Cup in Holy Communion; (6) that the souls of departed Christians are tortured in Purgatory; (7) that the way to release them is by means of Indulgences, which can be obtained by the recitation of certain prayers, or the performance of certain outward acts, to which a fixed scale of merit is attached, and which can be applied to the profit of any given person, living or deceased. There are many other points of difference, but it will be agreed on all hands that a communion which did not accept or practise

any of these seven would certainly not be Roman Catholic whatever else it might be.

But that is precisely the case of St. Gregory the Great and the Roman Church in his days. We have his own direct and express testimony on 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 against modern Roman Catholic doctrine; and the indirect evidence of his total silence as to 6 and 7, where he must have spoken about them, had he believed them, or ever so much as heard of them. Here are the proofs in his own words:—

1. "This title 'Universal' was offered during the Council of Chalcedon to the Pontiff of the Apostolic See. . . . But no one of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a title" (Ep. V. 43). "This title (Universal Bishop) is profane, superstitious, haughty, and invented by the first apostate" (Ep. VII. 27). "I confidently affirm that whoso calls himself, or desires to be called, Universal Priest, in his pride goes before Antichrist" (Ep. VII. 33).

2 and 4. "In every possible way avoid worshipping images. . . . . and let the people humbly prostrate themselves in honour of the Almighty and Holy Trinity alone" (Ep. IX. iv. 9).

3. "What human being, then, is without sin, save He Who was not conceived in sin? Therefore the Ark was finished in one cubit, because the Author and Redeemer of Holy Church is alone without sin" (Hom. in Ezech. II. iv.).

5. "What the Blood of the Lamb means ye have now learnt, not by hearing, but by drinking. And that Blood is put upon both doorposts, when it is not merely swallowed by the bodily mouth, but also with the mouth of the heart" (Homily to the people, in Evang. II. xxii.).

Plainly, then, St. Gregory the Great was not what is now understood by the term Roman Catholic; and, therefore, we may be sure that the Church of England, founded by his carefully chosen messengers, was not Roman Catholic either. And, as regards the British Church, which St. Augustine found in possession here in the non-Saxon parts of the island, he held two

conferences with its Bishops, the end of which was, that after he had called on them to acknowledge his authority, they answered decisively, "We will do none of those things which you demand, neither will we have you for our Archbishop" (Bede, "Hist. Eccl. Angl.," ii. 2). So the old British Church here was not only not modern Roman in its doctrine, but was not Roman even in the sense that St. Augustine and his companions were, that of acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Pope over them.

It may be added here that it is sometimes urged that in behaving thus towards the Pope's legate, the British Bishops were falling away from what more ancient British Bishops had done, because some of them who were at the Council of Sardica in 347, more than two hundred years before St. Augustine's mission, joined in enacting canons giving a right to the Pope of hearing appeals from all the Churches, and in addressing a letter to the Pope of that day, saying that "It is most fit that the priests of the Lord from each province should refer to the Head—that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter." But the canons in question are almost certainly a Roman forgery, for no trace of them is to be found till an attempt was made by a Pope in 419 to palm them off as Nicene, when they were at once rejected as spurious, and could not be found in any of the archives where search was made for them. And the letter is most probably a forgery too, for it is quite unknown to all the ancient Church historians (Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen) who have written about this Council, and record only its Synodical Letter to the Church at large. And, besides, even were this not so, the above clause in the letter has been challenged as a late forgery, detected by its bad Latin; and the learned Roman Catholic Bishop Hefele, who mentions this objection, does not attempt to disprove it, as he would have done were it possible.

The next flaw in the Roman argument is that it takes for granted that people have no right to put things straight which have once gone wrong. No doubt the mediæval Church of

England was in full communion with the Pope of Rome, and acknowledged him as the principal Bishop in the world; and it is true that little by little Roman abuses and corruptions made their way into this country; but it is also true that many bad civil laws and customs once prevailed in this country, which have been wisely repealed and done away with. Why should it be impossible or sinful to correct things in open conflict with the revealed will of God? It is very much more certain that it is sinful to worship images or to deprive the lay folk of the Cup in Holy Communion, than it is that St. Peter was master over the other Apostles, or that the Pope is heir of St. Peter. And if admitting the infallible and autocratic power of the Popes as a result of such heirship compels us also to admit the lawfulness of image-worship and of half-communion (as is said to be the case), it simply leads us into heresy and rebellion against God.

The present Church of England holds the same doctrine as St. Gregory the Great and the Roman Church in his days did, and, therefore, more truly represents the Church of St. Augustine than the Anglo-Roman body, which has got a new creed that St. Gregory never heard of, and would have condemned if he had heard of it, besides being unlike the old English Church in several other ways.

And there is a further consideration of no slight importance: that even in respect of several particulars wherein the mediæval Church of England for the most part agreed with the modern Church of Rome, and so far differed from the Church of England to-day, there was no hard-and-fast rule laid down, since they were rather floating "pious opinions," not positively binding, than formal dogmas imposed by authority. But the Council of Trent changed all that, and hardened into positive law much which was previously open and indeterminate, thereby laying a heavy burden on the modern Roman Catholic's conscience, from which his forefathers were free.

Even in the days when England was in communion with Rome, the Pope could not do as he pleased here, but was often

resisted, not by the kings only, but by the Bishops also. Thus, at the Synod of Easterfield, in 702, Brihtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates, deposed Wilfrid of York from the episcopal dignity, mainly on the ground that he had chosen to appeal to the Pope, instead of being content to abide by the decision of the English episcopate. And Wilfrid himself, in his speech on this occasion, charged them with having opposed the Pope for two-and-twenty years. Pope Paschal II. wrote in 1114 complaining that the English Church showed small reverence for the Roman See, sent no appeals to it, and did not ask its advice. And a legate he tried to send to England in 1115 was stopped by means of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not allowed to come. Archbishop Lanfranc was commanded by Pope Gregory VII. to present himself at Rome, under penalty of suspension from his office if he did not arrive within four months. He paid no attention to the order, and was not suspended. Archbishop Langton, who led the movement against King John which extorted Magna Charta, refused, in 1216, to comply with the order of Pope Innocent III. to excommunicate the barons, and all the other English Bishops supported him save two, one of whom was a foreigner and the other a dunce.* And the same Archbishop ten years later refused to obey the Pope's orders, sent by a legate, to make over to him in perpetuity two stalls in every Cathedral, and two monks' portions in every monastery. Archbishop St. Edmund, of Canterbury, a man of gentle and peaceful temper, went into exile in 1240 rather than obey the commands of another Pope, also to plunder the Church for the Pope's advantage. Bishop Grosseteste, of Lincoln, in 1247, refused to allow a collection to be made in his diocese for

* "The Archbishop and Bishops are bid to publish everywhere the sentence of excommunication against the barons. This order the noble-hearted Primate refused to obey. With him were all the Bishops except Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a foreigner, who was acting as chancellor, and Walter Gray, Bishop of Hereford, an illiterate man, who was scheming to obtain the Archbishopric of York."—Perry, "History of the English Church," vol. i., p. 312.

the Pope, though the Papal mandate for the purpose had been sanctioned by the King. Somewhat later he refused to comply with another Papal mandate, appointing the Pope's nephew, a young man not in Holy Orders, to a canonry in Lincoln Cathedral, and he wrote to the Papal Commissioners saying that the very respect and obedience he owed to the Apostolic See made it his duty to oppose so wicked a job which was akin to the deeds of Lucifer and Antichrist. Archbishop Chichele, when censured by Pope Martin V. (about 1420) for not disregarding the English laws which prevented the Pope from appointing to English benefices, told the Pope that he himself was the only Bishop in England who did pay any attention to orders from Rome; and when Martin V., by way of reply, took away from him his rank of *ex-officio* legate (that is legate in right of his archbishopric, and without need of any other special appointment to the post), and bestowed that title on another Bishop, proceeding further to excommunicate all the other prelates and to threaten an interdict, his Bulls were stopped in 1427 by the Government, and the Archbishop appealed at once to a General Council, while the new legate was never suffered to act in that character. These are merely a few examples to show how very unlike the pre-Reformation Church of England was to the present Anglo-Roman communion in its attitude towards the Pope. It did not account him either absolute or infallible, and opposed him stoutly whenever it thought him in the wrong. On the other hand, the Church of England now has no quarrel with him further than this same limit. If he would only come back to the doctrine and practice of Pope St. Gregory the Great, she would freely give him the honour and precedence that were given to St. Gregory by the Anglo-Saxon Church. For the Church of England has stated her view on this subject plainly in Canon XXX. thus:—

"So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology

of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders."

Not one ancient endowment now held by the Church of England, not one building for her worship, was conveyed to her upon any condition or understanding, express or implied, that she should be subject to the authority of the Pope, and should forfeit it otherwise.* They were all given for ecclesiastical uses in each place for the benefit of the Church of England, not of the Church of Rome in England; and the right of the Church of England to them is in no way, legally or morally, weakened by her having remedied various abuses which had crept into her system, and having returned to the faith of her first evangelisers. Rather, as she is thus more truly a Church, more truly Catholic, by complying more nearly with the Divine will, she is better entitled to retain such possessions now than when she was less Catholic and more Roman.

* There are some Anglo-Saxon charters which do make submission to the Church of Rome a condition of the gifts conveyed. But these are grants to monasteries, all of which were alienated from the Church under Henry VIII., and a Papal Bull in Queen Mary's reign confirmed the new holders in possession of them. None of them are held by the Church now.

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CATHOLIC—NOT ROMAN CATHOLIC.

By the Rev. Dr. LITTLEDALE.

Every time an English Churchman attends Morning or Evening Prayer in church he joins in the Apostles' Creed as part of those services. Every time he goes to Holy Communion he joins in the Nicene Creed as part of that service; and in both those Creeds he professes his belief in the Holy Catholic Church.

Hereupon Roman Catholic proselytisers say:—"That means the Roman Church, which is the only Catholic Church. We are everywhere, all over the world, recognised amongst all nations; your communion is only for England first, and then for English-speaking people elsewhere. At best, even if it is a Church at all, it is a mere local one, and so not the Catholic Church. And because it is not merely local, but separated from those Churches all over the world which are in communion with the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches, it is no true Church, but only a sect and a schism. There can be no such things as independent National Churches, for that would make against the unity of the one Church; but even if there were such Churches possible, they would still have to be in union with the Church of Rome, in subjection to the supreme Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, in order to have any just title to their name and rank."

This is a very large claim, and needs to be tested carefully before it can be allowed. And the first thing which has to be ascertained is the meaning and use of the word "Catholic."

It is not a Bible word. It never occurs either in the Greek Old Testament (the LXX.) or in the New Testament. Consequently, it is not, as a title of the Church, divinely revealed, but is only of man's invention and application; and thus its exclusive use, if the Roman Church could prove it to be hers alone in fact and by right, would not also prove her superiority to all other Christian bodies.

The first appearance of the word in a Christian writer is very early. It is in the Epistle of St. Ignatius to the Church of Smyrna, and there it means the Universal Church as distinguished from any local portion of it; in which same sense it is used just after by the Church of Smyrna itself three times in its Letter on the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp. These examples belong to the second century. In that same century, later on, St. Justin Martyr speaks of the "Catholic—*i.e.*, general—Resurrection;"

and just in the third century we find the sense of orthodoxy, of the faith of the whole Catholic Church, as being opposed to the doctrines of local and heretical sects, beginning to be attached to the word by St. Clement of Alexandria and others. Two schisms—the Novatian and the Donatist—which arose severally in the third and fourth centuries, and were occasioned by disputes about the rightfulness of lenient Church discipline towards sinful and fallen members, brought the word into yet more prominent use and a more carefully defined meaning, so that it came at last to signify (1) the Church of the whole world, as distinguished from any portion or portions thereof; (2) this same Church, as distinguished from the sects; (3) the teaching of this Church, as containing the whole of the Divine revelation and precepts, instead of choosing only portions thereof; and (4) as applicable to all sorts and conditions of men. This is the fourfold sense in which the word is used by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and by St. Augustine, who replies to the Donatists, claiming as they did to be the true Church, because the only persons of whom the third definition just given (which they urged as complete in itself) held good—that geographical universality is an essential element of Catholicity. None of the more ancient Fathers who define the word include communion with the Roman Church as a factor of the meaning. This is true, for instance, not only of the writers already mentioned, but of St. Cyprian, St. Theophilus, St. Pacian, St. Chrysostom, and several others, though if they had known of it they could scarcely have avoided saying so. A well-known passage of St. Irenæus (written about A.D. 183) is often cited as though asserting that it is necessary for all Churches to agree with the Roman Church, as the sole depository of Apostolic tradition. But this meaning can be forced out of the words only by a serious mistranslation—that of "agree with" instead of "assemble at," the only sense of which the phrase used (*convenire ad*) is capable in Latin (the original Greek of all this part is lost, and only an old Latin version remains)—and by the omission of a decisive piece of the context, quoted below. The real force of the passage is this: that Rome was the best place wherein to ascertain the tradition of the whole Church, because, since it was the capital city (*propter potiorem principalitatem*), visitors belonging to all other Churches had occasion to resort thither, and could be questioned; so that, St. Irenæus goes on to say, the Apostolic tradition was thus kept up in Rome—not by the Pope as its appointed guardian and expounder, but—"by the multitude of the faithful from all quarters"

resorting thither. That is, the tradition, being collected and attested from all quarters, was Catholic, not merely Roman Catholic, and thus was trustworthy. Another of the Fathers just named, St. Cyprian, is often quoted as if he did say that communion with the Pope is a necessary part of the true Catholic belief; but this can be made out only by misrepresenting the occasion of his language, and by concealing his own conduct in a famous controversy. The fact is that in his time there was a schism in the local Roman Church itself, with a true Pope and an Anti-Pope, and he writes to say that the Romans themselves, and also Christian visitors to Rome, should communicate with the true Pope only, and not with his rival. And as regards his own conduct, he presided, as Primate of North Africa, over two large councils which took an opposite line to the Pope and the Roman Church of that day on the question of re-baptizing heretics, and he would not give in, so that he was actually excommunicated by the Pope in consequence, and, to the best of what is known, died so, though he is accounted among the very greatest of the Saints, and is specially named as such in the Canon of the Mass by the Roman Church herself.

We do reach, later on, a time when communion with the Pope was looked on as a test of orthodoxy. It was in the time of the Arian heresy. This heresy was confined at first, and long so, to the East, and made but little way in the West, so that the Roman Church was unaffected by it, and therefore the Catholics in the East were not only glad to have the support of the most powerful Bishop of the Church on their side, but found it a convenient way of settling the question of true Church membership to ask which of two contending parties in any place was acknowledged by the Roman Pope. That is to say, it was not because of his being Pope, but because he held to the Nicene Creed when Arianism was rampant, that he was looked up to in this fashion. But what happened when the Pope himself was not sound in this faith may be simply put in the words of the great St. Hilary of Poitiers to a Pope who signed an Arian creed: —"Again, and a third time, I say, Anathema to thee, apostate Liberius."*

* So damaging is this testimony, that the genuineness of the letters wherein it occurs was roundly denied for the first time by the Jesuit F. Stilting (1703—1762), who has been followed by Bishop Hefele, never impartial on points affecting the Papacy. But the far weightier names of Tillemont, Dupin, Natalis Alexander, Fleury, Montfaucon, Ceillier, Möhler, and Constant, amongst Roman Catholic critics, are in favour of their authenticity, as is also Cardinal Newman in his "History of the Arians." The fact of Liberius having apostatized is attested for us by St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and the historian Sozomen. But F. Stilting denied that too.

Further, it is to be noticed that the phrase "the Catholic Churches" is very common in early times, both in Latin and Greek Fathers, meaning thereby the orthodox local Churches in each place, recognised as independent of each other in all matters of jurisdiction, but holding the same faith and united to one another by full inter-communion. That these local Churches in ancient times were independent of each other, though agreeing in all essentials, and thus that there was no authority which could constrain them till the General Councils began to legislate for all Christendom, is unquestionable. To begin with, the Seven Churches of Asia, to which St. John was commanded to write the letters in the Book of Revelation, have plainly no necessary relation to each other, nor is there any trace of a joint government. Least of all is there any hint of a tribunal on earth to which they are all alike subject; there is no word of their being bound to refer to St. Peter's successor for the solution of difficulties and the avoidance of error. Not very much later come the extremely ancient Church laws known as the "Canons of the Apostles," the earliest rules of the kind known to exist. The thirty-fourth of these canons runs thus :—"It is necessary that the Bishops of every nation should know who is first among them, recognise him as such, and do nothing important without his assent." Here, though we have the first beginning of Metropolitans or Primates, there is no hint of any yet higher ecclesiastical authority, or of an appeal outside the limits of each such national Church. St. Cyprian, already referred to, when the Pope interfered in the affairs of the African Church, and demanded its submission, gave his opinion on one important issue in the following terms of his opening speech at a council of eighty-seven African Bishops in 256 :—"None of us sets himself up as a Bishop of Bishops, or by despotic threats compels any of his colleagues to obey him as a duty, seeing that every Bishop has his private right of exercising his liberty and power freely, and can no more be judged by another than he can judge that other himself." This was a direct and intentional repudiation of the Pope's authority over the African Church. And considerably later a still more emphatic rejection of it was made, in which St. Augustine was concerned. A deposed African priest appealed to Rome, and obtained an order for his reinstatement from Pope Zosimus, who admitted him to communion. The African Church met this by enacting in 419 a canon (cxxv.) forbidding for the future all appeals beyond sea, or to any authority save that of African councils and primates, under

pain of excommunication, and by sending a synodical letter to the Pope repudiating his jurisdiction in the matter. And in 424 they did the like to another Pope, further declaring that they, as on the spot, were much more competent to manage their own affairs than he could be, and called on him to withdraw his legate. These facts settle the question of the existence of National Churches independent of Rome, but none the less Catholic on that account. Clearly, then, Rome was not the whole Catholic Church in those days, nor is she now. It is quite true that she is the largest of all Christian bodies, and the most widely diffused, but that is not the question now and here. Her having small garrisons in countries where she is in a tiny minority, as in Russia, for instance, does not make her the Church of those countries, with their hundred millions of Church members; just as the Queen of England is not Queen of Spain because the English hold Gibraltar, nor Empress of China because they hold Hong-Kong. And unless Rome is the whole Church, she cannot speak with the authority which belongs to nothing less than the whole Church. What is more, the authorised and official style and title of the Latin Church is not broadly "The Catholic Church," but only "the Holy Roman Church," or the "Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church," both which styles occur in the Creed of Pius IV. But the "Roman" Church is plainly and necessarily only a localised part of the Universal Church, something smaller and narrower than the whole body. This is acknowledged in express terms by Pope Innocent III., in a letter to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, wherein the largest claims of supremacy are made for the Roman See: "That is called the Church Universal which consists of all the Churches, and is named, from the Greek word, Catholic, and in this sense of the word the Roman Church is not the Church Universal, but a part of the Church Universal; of course, the first and principal part, like the head in the body. . . . And that only is called the Church Universal which includes in it all the Churches" (Epist. ccix.). The Eastern Church calls itself the Apostolic Catholic and Orthodox Church, thus bringing in no geographical limitation, and so having a wider style and claim than the Roman.

But there is a yet more weighty matter still to be considered. As there is a Catholic Church, so there is a Catholic faith. When we recite the Athanasian Creed we declare what that faith is, and it does not say a word about the Pope or the Church of Rome. There is a famous book

called "A Commonitory against Heresy," by St. Vincent of Lerins, who wrote it about the year 434, as a guide whereby the true Catholic faith might be distinguished from all erroneous doctrines. And the rule he lays down is this: "We are to hold that which has been believed *everywhere, always, and by all men.* . . And that we shall do, if we follow universality, antiquity, consent. Universality shall we follow thus, if we profess that one faith to be true which the whole Church throughout the world confesses; we shall follow antiquity, if we depart in no respect from the interpretations prevalent with our predecessors and fathers; and consent, if in this ancient time we hold to the opinions and definitions of all, or at any rate almost all, the priests and doctors." He does not seem to have so much as heard of agreement with and obedience to the Pope as a part, not to say the whole, of the safeguard against doctrinal or practical error, and never hints at a Papal decision as being the final appeal, or any appeal at all, in matters of the kind.

Now, what we learn from this ruling is, that "Catholic" is not only a word denoting geographical *place*, but also unbroken duration of *time*. And that, because the Church and a General Council of the Church are in one most serious particular unlike any secular kingdom or Parliament. With us any Parliament can repeal every law of former Parliaments, and enact others directly contradicting them; and the new Acts would thereby become the binding laws of the country. But the Church cannot proceed in this way. She cannot make new doctrine, nor alter the ancient faith; though explanations of statements which have been misunderstood or wrested from their true meaning can be put forth as required. Therefore, when even a General Council comes together, its business is not to find out what are the private views of its members, nor to endeavour the discovery of the truth, but simply to ascertain from each Bishop present what has been the doctrine hitherto handed down in his diocese; and, if any considerable fraction declares that the particular tenet under consideration has been unknown amongst their flocks, it cannot be declared part of the Catholic faith, even if a strong majority is in favour of it. There must be virtual unanimity in its favour, because otherwise the doctrine would lack the two necessary warrants of universal diffusion and unbroken reception.

These, then, are the tests to be applied when we desire to know whether any given practice is Catholic or only Roman Catholic. No tenet or practice which is not known all over Christendom is Catholic;

none which does not trace back to the most ancient times can claim to be received and followed as of right; any tenet or practice which is not merely unknown to the ancient Church, but contradicts Scripture or the ruling of the ancient Fathers, must be rejected as erroneous and even heretical. This is true, for example, of the worship of the Blessed Virgin, for, when that first appears, it is at once condemned as heresy; it is true of image-worship, also condemned as heresy (although both these late errors prevail now in the Greek Church as well as in the Roman); it is true still more of doctrines and usages unknown to the Eastern Church, and peculiar to Rome alone, such as communion in one kind only, denounced by Pope St. Gelasius as sacrilegious; the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, for that was not heard of for more than eight hundred years, and was freely denied as heresy by Roman Catholic divines down to 1854; several other tenets in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., and Papal infallibility, for even in the Vatican Council itself there was so large a minority against that, including the most learned and able Bishops, and also the Bishops of so many great and populous dioceses, that the promulgation of the decree was null and void as a pure matter of canon law, to say nothing of the notorious falsehood of the tenet itself, repudiated till quite the other day by all the most eminent Roman Catholic theologians as a mere novelty and error.

The essential thing to bear in mind, then, is that as the Saints departed are not dead, but living, they form an integral part of the Catholic Church still, and their teaching is still part of "the living voice of the Church." Accordingly, when Roman Catholics say that they, as constituting the vast majority of Christians, as well as being in communion with the Pope, are the whole Church now, and have a right to speak and decide as such, the reply is that the Church of all the past ages has to be taken into the reckoning, and that unless they can show that the great Saints, doctors, and martyrs of the purest times are in agreement with them, their case so far fails; for the "living voice" of those times was against them, and remains so, since we cannot suppose that the Saints in Paradise have altered their faith. Men are Catholics only so long and so far as they are in accord with the rule, "Everywhere, always, and by all," cited above. And while this one good thing can be said for the Roman Church, which cannot be said for the sects, that she has never denied or thrown away any of the revealed truths of Christianity, yet she cannot be acquitted of having overlaid and mixed them with much which is

novel and false, and seriously abates their clearness and influence. On the other hand, too many of the sects have thrown aside whatever displeased them in Christianity, without stopping to consider whether it might not be part of Divine truth. Their conduct may thus be severally compared to that of two persons with each of whom a cask of pure wine has been left in charge, sufficient for use during a long time, but to be dealt out just as delivered to them. The Roman Church does not take away the wine, but thinks it not bright enough in colour, sweet enough in flavour, or strong enough in body, and therefore adds all sorts of drugs, more or less useless or noxious, to suit its own palate—coarse raw spirit, cloying molasses, foreign dyeing matter—and thus turns the pure, wholesome wine into a sophisticated and too often deleterious compound. The sectary, thinking all wine evil, adds little or nothing, but draws away the wine itself, and fills up the cask with water, till in some cases there is hardly more than the name of wine remaining, certainly neither its flavour nor its body; and in others there is only water left at last, and not a trace of wine remains.

The Church of England has kept the safe line between these two parallel errors, and has neither added to the faith of ancient Christendom, nor taken away from it, and, accordingly, while she is Catholic, which the sects are not, she is not Roman Catholic, with mere local and modern variations for the worse from the old teaching of the Church Universal.

Further, the Church of Rome, by claiming, as for some centuries past, to be the whole Church; excommunicating and anathematising those who do not submit to that claim; denying the orders and sacraments of other Churches, and rebaptising their members; refusing them even the name of Church—as when styling the Eastern Church by the title of "the Photian Schism"—has not only departed from the Catholic spirit, but has minutely copied the precedent and followed the example of the Donatist sectaries of ancient times.

Contrariwise, the Church of England makes no such claim of monopoly, has no excommunications or anathemas for other Churches, acknowledges the validity of their orders and sacraments, and interposes no barrier to communion with them, thus keeping to the original Catholic method.

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No. 89

Mr. GLADSTONE

ON THE

INSUPERABLE DIFFICULTIES

OF

DISESTABLISHMENT.

"I do not envy my hon. and learned friend, or my hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil, or any other man who ventures to take in hand the business of Disestablishing the Church of England. Even if it were as fit to be done as I think it unfit, there is a difficulty in the case before which the boldest man would recoil. It is all very well so long as we deal with abstract declarations put upon the Notice Paper of this House of what might be done or ought to be done; **but only go up to the walls and gates and look at the way in which stone is built upon stone, on the way in which the foundations have been dug, and the way they go down into the earth, and consider by what tools, what artillery, you can bring that fabric to the ground.** I know the difficulties, and I am not prepared in any shape or form to encourage—by dealing with my hon. and learned friend's motion in any way except the simple mode of negative—the creation of expectations which it would be **most guilty, most unworthy, most dishonourable on our part to entertain,** lest we should convey a virtual pledge. **We cannot go in that direction**; we do no intend to do so; we deprecate it, and we should regard it as **a national mischief.**"

Speech in the House of Commons against the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, May 24, 1870.

Printed by W. I. RICHARDSON, 4 and 5, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

No. 90.

Facts about the Church in Wales.

No. 1.

Testimony of the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

1. "The case of the Welsh Church is widely different from that of the Irish Church."

2. "It is quite impossible to compare the severance between the Established Church and the Nonconformists of Wales with the severance between the members of the Irish Establishment and the Roman Catholics in that country."

3. "The growth of Dissent in Wales has been not less recent than it has been rapid." [Subsequently this growth is dated from 1801.]

4. "It has not been a question with regard to National Establishments that has had anything to do with the growth of Welsh Dissent."

5. "In my opinion the cause is to be found in the cruel and irrational policy that was pursued . . . in regard to the ecclesiastical appointments in that country."

6. "There is not a more curious fact in history than this: There are but four sees in Wales, and yet, between the reign of Henry VIII. and the Revolution, no less than forty-four Welshmen were appointed to fill them."

7. "Puritanism, which was strong in England, at that period did not exist in Wales at all."

8. "So long as the sympathies of the natives were cultivated, the Church of Wales was perfectly acceptable to the people of Wales."

9. "It is at the Revolution I would place the turning point of Dissent."

10. "The people of Wales were the staunchest Churchmen in the country, as long as their Church was administered in the spirit of sympathy to their natural feelings."

11. "Except for the sake of truth and for conventional purposes, there is really no Church in Wales. The Welsh sees are simply four sees held by the Suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and form a portion of the Province as much as any four English sees in that Province."

12. "As regards the identity of these Churches, the whole system of known law, usage and history has made them completely 'one.'"

13. "There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England."

14. "I will not say what it would be right to do provided Wales were separated from England in the same way that Ireland is, and provided that the case of Wales stood in full and complete analogy to that of Ireland in regard to religious differences. But the direct contrary of this is the truth. I think, therefore, it is practically impossible to separate the case of Wales from that of England."

The above are *verbatim* quotations from the speech of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, May 24th, 1870. *Hansard*, Vol. 201, pp. 1291-99.

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No. 91.

The Church of England never Roman Catholic.

No. 3.

The Church of England was never Roman Catholic.

There was a British Church, represented by three of its Bishops, at the great Council held at Arles in A.D. 314.

It was not until A.D. 597 that Augustine, the first Missionary from Rome, sent by Gregory the Great, landed in England.

The British Bishops and Clergy, though they had more than one Conference with Augustine, were unable to agree upon common action with him, and eventually he confined his labours to the South and South Eastern districts of England.

Augustine died in 606, and before a hundred years had passed there was little remaining to show that a Roman Christian had ever visited or taught in England.

The true fathers of the Church of England were such men as Aidan and Finan, the former of whom was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne in 635.

It is true that in later years the Pope of Rome interfered largely in the Government of the Church of England, that he nominated Bishops and took first fruits from the Clergy, but his power was always looked upon as usurped, and all money was paid to him under protest.

At the Reformation the English people repudiated distinctly and finally all connection with Rome, and rejected the false doctrines which had been introduced from without. Of 9,800 Clergy, only 186 refused to assent to the Reformed Offices in 1559.

The Roman Catholics of to-day are the descendants and successors of the few who did not accept the changes made at the Reformation, and who were in fact the first Dissenters from the Church of England.

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"TITHES AND THE POOR."

THERE is a good deal of agitation just now on the subject of "Tithes and the Poor," but it is for the most part based on a misapprehension of the purposes to which Tithes were originally applied.

It is, indeed, supposed by some that originally the Tithes were divided into three parts—for the Clergy, the fabric, and the poor—and that these parts were more or less equal. But this custom never prevailed in this country, though it may have been recommended in certain canons. It was an ecclesiastical custom (though by no means a general one) in some parts of the Continent—*e.g.*, in France, Spain, and other Roman dioceses, but it never gained a footing here, or was even introduced. There is no trace of it in England, Scotland, or even Ireland, except in *one* diocese of the latter country, where it was brought in not from England, but direct from Rome (by Malachias, the Pope's legate), which proves its foreign origin. The poor, therefore, have no legal claim to a share of the Tithes in this country, on the ground of a supposed threefold division.

From the earliest times it appears that the Clergy claimed the Tithe, and their claim was recognised, first as the custom of the Church, and then by common law (the law of the land) if it came into dispute. And from 1215 onward, when the Clergy laid claim to the Tithes of newly-cultivated lands within the parish, their claim was generally upheld. The parish priest was protected, because custom directed the payment, and canon law limited the right of selection. If the Tithe was disputed the tithe-owner applied to the common law courts, where the Tithe was upheld as part of "the law of the land," unless a grant could be produced by a rival claimant. If there was no title in dispute, and payment refused, the parish priest sought the

remedy in the ecclesiastical courts, which enforced payment for the *health* of the defaulter's soul. At the moment when the parish priest was thus secured in the possession of the Tithes, *no evidence can be produced of the tripartite division.* He received the Tithes for the three objects stated in 4 Henry IV. c. 12, *to inform the people, to keep hospitality,* and to *perform divine service.* If the shadowy evidence of earlier periods established the claim of the poor to a share in any Tithe, it applies not to the property in the hands of the secular or parochial Clergy, but to the Tithe appropriated to monastic establishments. But these never formed part of the endowments of the Established Church, and at the dissolution of the monasteries were vested in the Crown, and granted out in lay-fee free of any such charge. Even if the monasteries received special endowments *morally* charged with the duty of relieving the poor (nothing like a third part, or even a hundredth), it will hardly be contended that the Tithes allotted to the parochial Clergy were so divided.

The interest of the poor (such as it was) in the revenues of the Church of England, in times anterior to the Reformation, was of the nature of a *moral,* not a *legal* right. This can be proved in many ways (1), by the two kinds of ecclesiastical *tenure* which existed formerly; (2), by the duty of *almsgiving,* as considered and practised by the Anglican Clergy themselves in the thirteenth century; (3), from the *Statute Book* itself; (4), from the *vested* interests which the poor had in Church property, consisting (*a*) in the payments made by the *appropriators* when the rectory was converted into a vicarage; (*b*), from endowed alms and customary doles, distributed by the *monasteries;* and (*c*) from special payments out of *Chantry* lands belonging to the *Chantry* priests.

Most erroneous, too, is the commonly received idea that the *Poor Law system* was the result of changes which took place in the Church's property, and that if the Clergy acted now as they formerly did, the Laity would be relieved of the charge of maintaining * the poor. The oft-quoted statutes of Elizabeth esta-

* The amount of the rate for the support of the poor in 1880 was £12,302,088, being more than four times the whole amount of the net income received from the tithes by the Clergy.

blished not the Poor Law, but the *Poor Rate system.* A poor law had existed before the Reformation, and the Laity, as well as the Clergy, were called upon to contribute to the maintenance of the poor. The historian Hallam says, "Even while the monasteries were yet standing, the scheme for the provision of the poor had been adopted by the *Legislature,* by means of *regular collections,* which, in the course of a long series of statutes, *ending* in 43 Elizabeth, were almost insensibly converted into *compulsory* assessment (*i.e.* a *Poor Rate System*)." And he adds, in a foot-note, "The first Act for the relief of the impotent poor passed in 1535 (27 Henry VI. c. 25). By this statute no alms were allowed to be given to beggars, on pain of forfeiting ten times the value; but a collector was to be paid in every parish. The compulsory payment (*i.e. Poor Rate*) began in 1572 (14 Elizabeth, c. 5). But by an earlier statute (1 Edward VI. c. 3) the Bishop was empowered to proceed in his court against such as should refuse to contribute, or dissuade others from doing so." *

It is evident, therefore, that not the Clergy only, but all the parishioners, both in and out of Church, were called upon to assist their poorer brethren in former times. By 12 Richard II. c. 1 (1388), "Beggars impotent to serve, ordered to return to the towns where they were born." By 32 Henry VIII. c. 25 (1530), "Impotent beggars not to wander about, but to be maintained by their parishes by way of voluntary and charitable alms. Officers and Churchwardens to collect alms for the impotent." The clergy to *exhort the people* to give alms for the purpose of this Act. By 1 Edward VI. c. 3 (1547), "Weekly *collection* at church on Sunday for the poor." By 3 Edward VI. c. 16 (1530), "Sick and aged poor to be relieved by the parishes where they were born." By 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 2 (1551-2), "Collection of alms to be chosen when the people is at the Churche . . . shall gentillie aske and demande of *everie man* and woman what they of their charitie will be contented to give *wekelie* towards the relief of the poor, or be reported to the Bishoppe." By 5 Elizabeth, c. 3 (1562), "Persons refusing to contribute voluntarily to be admonished by their Ordinary,"

* Hallam's *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 80.

and lastly, by 14 Elizabeth, c. 4 (1572), "Justices of Peace to assess all and any of the inhabitants to the relief of the poor," which established *the Poor Rate system.* All these Acts prove that the poor could have no *legal* claim to a share of the Tithes of the parish, otherwise they would have been mentioned. The silence of these statutes as to any clerical liabilities in the distribution of the Tithes to the poor surely speaks for itself.

"The poor of England," to quote that great legal authority Blackstone, "till the time of Henry VIII., subsisted *entirely* upon private benevolence and the charity of well-disposed Christians. For though it appears by the 'Mirrour' that, by the common law, the poor were to be 'sustained by parsons, rectors of the Church, *and parishioners,* so that none of them dye for default of sustenance,' and though by the statutes 12 Rich. II. c. 17 and 19 Henry VIII. c. 12, the poor were directed to abide in the cities and towns wherein they were born or such wherein they had dwelt for three years (which seems to be the first rudiments of parish settlement), yet till the statute 26 Henry VIII. c. 26, I find no compulsory method chalked out for this purpose, but the poor seem to have been left to such relief as the *humanity of their neighbours* would afford them. The monasteries were, in particular, their principal resource." (Vol. I. p. 359.)

The poor, therefore, have no legal claim on the Tithe, either tripartite or any other proportion; they stand completely outside, and have no foot in, the present controversy as to Tithes, which has been raised by the Liberationists to excite hopes of possible plunder which can never be realised so long as justice and equity are supreme in the councils of the nation; nor will the poor ever get any portion of the Tithes (which indeed they have never had) by Disestablishment and Disendowment.

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OUR CHURCH DID NOT BEGIN UNDER HENRY VIII.

PERHAPS you may say: "I thought the Church of England began three or four hundred years ago at the Reformation. Was it not begun by Henry VIII. and Cranmer?"

This is quite a mistake, as all persons who have studied the history of England know.

In the reign of Henry VIII. *the Church of England, the old national Church of this country, reformed herself.* That is why it is called the *Reformation* of the Church of England. We do not speak of anything which begins for the first time as being *reformed.*

The chief thing that was done was to declare that the Bishop of Rome ought to have no authority in England. The power of interfering in England by the Popes of Rome had only gradually grown up, and at the Reformation it was barely four or five hundred years old. There had often been complaints made against this interference, and laws passed to check it, and several of our English kings refused to allow it, as well as leading bishops. But bit by bit, the power of interfering grew. At length Henry VIII.

(seeing that he would be supported by his people and by the Church) openly quarrelled with the Pope, and declared that the Pope had no authority in his realm. Henry was not a good man, and his quarrel was begun on a bad pretext; but God used him as an instrument for the Reformation of the Church, as He used Jehu for a similar purpose.

There were other changes made at the same time, or shortly after. A number of errors and dangerous practices, as well as superstitious customs and abuses, which had crept into the Church were cut away; and the old Latin services, with some changes, were translated into English. The clergy were allowed to marry, if they thought fit. In other ways also a return was made to the old and primitive ways. Of course some mistakes were made. When evils are done away, some good things will often be destroyed with them. When weeds are uprooted, a few flowers may be pulled up too. If you scrape the dust and fungus off an old picture you may slightly damage the picture in doing so. Some people thought the changes went too far; others thought they went not far enough. But those who thought the changes ought to have gone farther were people who wished to have a complete revolution in religion—they wished for a deluge to sweep away every landmark of the past. They called the Unreformed Churches Baal and Anti-Christ. They thought the ancient beautiful prayers and forms retained by the Reformed Church "old written rotten stuff, abstracted out of the Pope's blasphemous Mass book." They did not want any connexion to be retained between Christianity in England and the ancient Church and the old ways. The Church of England would not consent to this. Though changes were made, great care was

taken to preserve those essential Catholic truths which all Christians held in common before errors began to grow up. The ancient customs and creeds were retained. The old succession of bishops, priests and deacons went on as before. Times change, but our Church ways of teaching and worshipping are just the old ways which once all Christians used. Queen Elizabeth said: "There is no new faith propagated in England."

A garden in which weeds have been allowed to grow is weeded. Is it the same garden, or a new one? It is, of course, the same. So the Church of England reformed was the same as the Church of England before the Reformation. The weeds had been got up. That is all the difference.

People sometimes talk of things having happened "*in the Roman Catholic times*"; sometimes one even hears it said of a cathedral, "It was built by the Roman Catholics." Of course what is meant is that it was built by English Churchmen in the days when Rome had great influence in this island. Strictly speaking, there never were any Roman Catholics in England, except the modern ones. Certainly there never was any "Roman Catholic Church" here. Though the Bishop of Rome had influence here, and though things were done to a large extent in the same way as they are done now in Roman Catholic countries, yet ours was always the "English Catholic" not "Roman Catholic" Church; and the name by which it was always known was the name it has still, "The Church of England," or "Anglican Church." The first words, *e.g.*, of King John's Magna Charta are these: "Let the Church of England be free." An Act of Edward III. (1350) speaks of "The Holy Church of England."

The Church of England is the oldest English institution. Her tithes are the oldest kind of property.

The Reformation did not take place all at once, but it was continued through several reigns. *Whatever was done was done by the Church herself, or with her consent.* The greatest step was the rejecting the authority of the Pope. To this all the clergy, except a handful of bishops and priests, agreed. No one supposed for a moment that any new religion or new church was being set up. It was *the old religion and the old Church reformed.* And any lawyer or person who is learned in the constitution of England will tell you that the law of England knows only of one Church from the beginning of our nation's history.

M.

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No. 96.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Is the true ancient branch of the one Holy Church, planted by Providence in this country. If we ask for "the Church," everyone can point it out. It is *the old Historic Church of the land.* Even those who do not belong to it call it "the Church." In saying that the Church of England is the English branch of the old Historic Church, we mean, of course, of the Church of Christ, which has been from the beginning.

In some countries which have been heathen till lately the Church is not old, as in Australia, where the Church is hardly a hundred years old. But even where the Church has been newly planted, it is sprung from the One Ancient Church which is from the beginning; just as, for example, a family newly settled in Canada might be an off-shoot from an old family at home. *A new Church cannot be a true Church.* A Church cannot be of man's making.

There never has been any Church in England before the Church of England. Directly Englishmen became Christians they were, of course, formed into a Church, called at first the Church of the English, which soon came to be called the Church of England, and that is the Church to which we belong

Before the English came to this island (A.D. 450) it was inhabited by Britons, who were Christians. These were driven by the English (who were then heathens) into Wales and Cornwall. In after years the Britons became reconciled to

the English, and the British Church became part of the Church of England.

About 150 years after they had taken possession of this island the English were converted, partly by Scottish missionary monks, partly by the preaching of St. Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury. He landed in A.D. 597. Our Church then has been the Church of the English race ever since.

I do not mean that our Church *began* then. It goes back to our Lord and his Apostles, for Augustine was a Bishop of the one Church which is from the beginning, and he ordained bishops, priests, and deacons in this island. The Church of Christ cannot *begin* anywhere except at Christ Himself. But it was planted among the Anglo-Saxons A.D. 597. There may be a branch of the great Howard family in America, and it might be said, "The Howards have been here for 150 years." But they would not be Howards at all unless they could trace their connection back with the Howards at home, and were descended from the founder of the family.

The present Archbishop of Canterbury is the 93rd occupant of the Throne of Canterbury. He holds his office of Primate of England by unbroken succession through thirteen hundred years from St. Augustine; and he holds his office as a Bishop of the Universal Church by unbroken succession through eighteen hundred years from the Apostles of the Lord. It is a much longer descent and pedigree than the holder of any ancient earldom or dukedom can show.

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OUR SPIRITUAL MOTHER.

THE Church of England claims the duty and allegiance of every baptized Englishman. It is the right and duty of her clergy to minister to the whole population, dissenters as well as Church people.

The law of England still recognises this right and duty. Although the laws which did not allow people to worship in any way they pleased have been done away, all baptized Englishmen are still regarded as being under the care of the National Church.

It is quite a mistake, however, to look on the Church as a "Government Church." *The Clergy are not paid by Government, and do not take their orders from the Government*, though of course they are under the law, like the dissenters and the rest of the Queen's subjects. The Church was here before England was a nation, and the parishes (the same for the most part as remain to this day) were divided and mapped out 600 years before there was any regular Parliament of Lords and Commons in England. You will find from history that *the Church made England*, England did not make the Church.

If the Church were "disestablished," as it is called, it would not make the least difference to the claim which the Church makes to minister to all Christian people in the land. The parish clergy would still look on *all* the people in the parish as their parishioners, and would regard themselves as pastors of the whole flock of the baptized.

When a clergyman is "instituted" to a cure of souls he is sent by the bishop, representing Christ Jesus the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, to take charge of all the souls within a certain district called a parish. They are entrusted to him as his flock. He is not sent to preach to a *congregation*, but to be the shepherd of a flock, even though some of the flock may refuse to receive him and acknowledge him as their pastor and guide. One of the first duties of a parish priest must be to seek out those who are not Churchmen, and bring them back to the ancient fold. He may have good congregations on Sunday, but he must not be satisfied with that. He is the appointed pastor of *all*.

He is appointed by the bishop, not by the Government. The ceremony of "institution" is a religious service. The law recognises the person instituted by the bishop to any place as the lawful parish priest of that place, and secures him in his rectory or vicarage. But if "disestablishment" came about, and the law of England no longer recognised any difference between the clergy of the Church and Nonconformist ministers, still the Church would regard herself as commissioned from Christ to minister to the whole population.

When a new Church district is mapped out, or a new parish formed, it is done without any reference to the number of Church people living in that area. The only point considered is: What is the total population? And a clergyman is said to have charge of three thousand or a thousand souls, or whatever may be the number of people in his parish, although many of these may belong to denominations outside the Church of England.

M.

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No. 98.

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION.

A PLAIN STATEMENT FOR PLAIN MEN.

PERHAPS you have sometimes heard it said "that the Church is not the poor man's friend in the matter of education," and that "up to the year 1811, when the National Society was founded, the Church resisted the education of the people." In support of such statements as these you will ask in vain for one atom of evidence. But there are abundance of historical records to prove the direct contrary.

I.—We learn, for instance, from Stowe's "Survey of London," that "there were three principal schools, belonging to the three principal churches, in the time of King Stephen," A.D. 1140; and there is also on record a petition from "the parsons of Great Allhallows, S. Andrew's, Holborn, S. Peter's, Cornhill, and S. Mary, Colechurch," addressed to the Parliament and King Henry VI., requesting the establishment of schools in their parishes for the benefit of the people, with which the King was pleased to comply.

Numberless other instances can be quoted to prove how in each successive year the Church gradually extended and improved educational work in all parts of the country. To give one instance. In 1730, the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llandowror, was the means of founding many schools in South Wales.

Doubtless, in the year 1811, a dark cloud of carelessness and lukewarmness was overshadowing the whole country, and the poor were not being educated as they ought to have been.

It was then that the Nonconformist, Joseph Lancaster, began to do much for the children of Dissenters. The Church did not wish to hinder him, but she claimed her right to do for her own children what he was doing for the Nonconformists.

At that time, when the founders of the National Society made use of the following words, "It is evident that if the children of the poor should be generally educated in other principles than those of the Established Church, the Established Church in the course of another generation would have a majority against it," they were only stating a self-evident truth.

The Church believed in her divine mission, and felt that she could not abstain from meeting the just demand upon her, made by her own people, to preserve for them truths they valued, to preserve their children from growing up ignorant of those truths.

Had she failed to provide education because Joseph Lancaster had copied the example of one of her own clergy, Dr. Bell, she would have deserved all the blame which the Liberationists now unjustly pour upon her.

It is a matter of history that Joseph Lancaster's so-called system was copied from the Churchman, Dr. Bell. Joseph Lancaster himself wrote in the first account of his work: "I cannot close my account without acknowledging the obligations I am under to Dr. Bell. . . . As a confirmation of the goodness of Dr. Bell's plan, I have succeeded with one nearly similar. . . . I have been endeavouring to walk in his footsteps."

The Liberationists say that the meaning of the founders of the National Society is quite plain—that it was to keep the children of the Church in the

Church, and that the National Society is still kept up for the same purpose.

We quite agree with them, *and we are* very far from being ashamed of the fact. We have yet to learn that it is wrong to defend what we believe to be the truth. All poor men are not Liberationists, and the religious liberties of the poor Churchman, which he values, have surely as much right to be defended as those of the Nonconformists.

II.—We have to deal now with a most astounding statement. We are told that "in many places the law gives the Church a monopoly in education."

We reply at once that we do not know of any place where there is this monopoly.

The Education Act of 1870 gives to every parish the right to have a School Board school where the majority of the parish desire it; and in every parish where there is not a School Board school the minority can, provided the requirements of the Education Department are complied with, start a school of their own.

In some parishes Churchmen actually contribute towards the Dissenting school.

The grievance is on the side of Churchmen. If there is a School Board in the parish, Churchmen have to bear their share in maintaining that school, *to which they conscientiously object*, as well as to support their own school.

Moreover, in every Church school the Dissenter can claim to have secular instruction for his child without religious instruction. It is quite certain that no Dissenter need have his child taught anything which is "hateful" to him. He can, under the

conscience clause, withdraw his child from all religious instruction. When the Royal Commission on Education examined into this matter the other day, the ONLY case where it was proved that the "conscience clause" was not carefully observed was the case *not* of any Church school, but of a *School Board school in Chelsea.*

III.—Again, we are told that twenty-two millions of public money have been spent upon voluntary schools. We answer that **upon these schools Churchmen alone have spent thirty-three millions of money,** and that **since the year 1870 not one penny of the Government grant has been spent upon religious teaching** in these schools.

Churchmen pay for *all* the religious teaching, and also for a considerable portion of the secular teaching.

Lastly, it is a glaring misstatement to say that there is no public control over Church schools. Every year each school is examined by a Government Inspector, all the accounts have to be audited and submitted to the Government Inspector, every bill and voucher has to be produced, and the greatest care is taken to see that not one penny of the pence or of the grant goes to anything except to secular instruction. All the religious instruction is paid for by Churchmen out of their own pockets.

It is very important that both Churchmen and Dissenters should remember and study these facts, when political agitators are trying to pull down useful institutions such as our National Church Schools.

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SOMETHING ABOUT WALES.

What is the Church doing there?

TESTIMONY FROM VARIOUS QUARTERS.

A Baptist minister of Dowlais writes to the *Seren Cymru* organ of the Baptists, of May, 1888, thus :—

"Notwithstanding all her imperfections we are bound to admit that the State Church is an important branch of the Church of Jesus Christ. The 'Old Mother' is renewing her strength and putting forth all her vigour. Notwithstanding the strength of Nonconformity in Wales, we cannot afford to ignore the labours of Churchmen in these days. So much has been said and written about the failure of the Church as a reason for disestablishment that the 'Old Mother' has determined to bear fruit in her old age. There has been too much made of the 'failure' argument, and the Census of 1887 was a sad mistake. *No one can help observing that the Church is gaining ground.* I know of churches which a few years ago were comparatively empty that are now comparatively full. How are we to account for the presence in the churches of the sons and daughters of wealthy Nonconformists? It is almost incredible that Nonconformist deacons allow the rector and his curates to visit their houses and chat with their children, who ultimately leave the chapel for the church. The family is drawn to the church because the rector is liberal and a wise man."

The Cambrian News, a Radical and Liberationist paper, writes, Jan. 1887 :—

"The Church parson, with his daily services, his oversight of elementary schools, his mission work, his house to house visiting, and his numerous societies, is a hardworked individual. It is the Nonconformist minister, with his one week-night service and his two services on Sunday, who is becoming an object of reproach. It is very difficult to point out any defect in Nonconformity without being accused of irreligion and enmity towards ministers, but the time has fully come when Nonconformity should bestir itself in more ways than one if it is to hold its own. The Church of England is very much alive, and the work the clergy are doing was certainly left undone."

Speaking at the Aberdare Liberal Club on February 1, 1888, Lord Aberdare said :—

"I read with some astonishment the statement recently made by Mr. Labouchere, at Swansea, that the Church in Wales had not made a single convert. The slightest acquaintance with the actual state of things would have shown him that *almost everywhere in Wales the Church was making healthy progress, and certainly nowhere more than in this county of Glamorgan*—perhaps I might say in the borough of Merthyr Tydfil and Aberdare. I can remember the time when the only clerical representative of the Church for Merthyr and Dowlais, with their population even then of some 30,000 people, was the curate, whose rector for thirty years lived at Swansea, receiving the tithes of the most considerable living in the diocese, and doing nothing for his Church but pay the stipend of that one curate. What Merthyr became in the days of Mr. Campbell, how many churches were built, how many districts were cut out of that vast parish, how many active and zealous clergymen ministered to a constantly increasing flock, I need not tell you. For many years of my youth and early manhood there was but one clergymen of the Church of England ministering for the even then populous parish of Aberdare. There was but one church, and that a very small one, in the whole of the valley, from Hirwain to what is now the Aberdare Junction. There were no Church societies, no institutions tending to promote religion and a healthy interest in the affairs of their Church. Now there are eleven Churches, besides three missionary places of worship, and several of these are already too small for the congregations belonging to them. They are ministered to by sixteen clergymen, of whom I will only say that they seem to me to perform their duties with earnestness and zeal, and in a spirit very different to that which prevailed during the years of which I am speaking. Nor are these great effects due simply to the wiser application of Church endowments. These additional churches were built and the greater part of these sixteen clergymen are maintained by voluntary offerings of Churchmen. For instance, at Mountain Ash we have one clergyman supported out of the property of the Church. The other four are maintained by the voluntary offerings of Churchmen in one form or other. I might easily accumulate similar examples in other parts of this diocese, and, indeed, throughout Wales. And there can be no question that the Church, in its renewed spirit of life and energy, is conciliating the respect and attracting the interest of large numbers of educated Nonconformists. You would, I am sure, be greatly surprised if I were to give you the numbers of Nonconformist ministers who apply every year to the four bishops of Wales for admission into the Church and into Holy Orders. I might, with pardonable pride, further pursue this subject, and give overwhelming proof of the healthy vitality of the Church at this moment."

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Reasons against the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales.

1. Because the case of the Church in Wales cannot be separated from that of the rest of the Church of England, "the whole system of known law, usage and history" having made them "completely one." (See *Speech of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, May* 24, 1870.)

2. Because, before so momentous a step as the Disestablishment of the Church in any part of the country is taken, it should be shown that a far larger proportion of the people earnestly desire it than can be shown to be the case in Wales.

3. Because, while the measure of the usefulness of the Church can only be partially gauged by the numbers who attend her services, these numbers are far greater than is commonly reported.

4. Because the agitation for Disestablishment is mainly promoted by three classes of people, all of whom have personal interests likely to bias their judgment. They are: (1) Those who have lent money upon Chapels, (2) those who are behind with their tithes, and (3) the preachers who see their congregations gradually leaving them.

5. Because the experience of those who in the last few years have visited Wales and have addressed audiences on the subject has discovered a great and rapidly increasing body of persons who, after being long uninstructed and misinformed, are now awakening to entirely new ideas of the history and vitality of the Church.

6. Because there is the best of reasons for believing that, while the Non-conformity now so prevalent in Wales is of comparatively recent origin, the life, energy, and spirituality which the Church is exhibiting will draw back "to the old hive" the children of those who have been conscientiously withdrawn from her.

7. Because while we never hear of Churchmen joining Non-conformist bodies in Wales, we read every week of Dissenters seeking Baptism, Confirmation, or Ordination in the Church of England.

8. Because the opinion of those who vote as 2 to 3 in favour of the maintenance of an Established Church in the Principality deserves the utmost consideration, and to take from them the privileges they now enjoy in order to secure an uncertain benefit for others of their countrymen who happen to be in a temporary majority, would be an act of injustice, profound and irreparable.

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No. 106.

QUESTIONS ASKED OF CHURCH DEFENCE LECTURERS.

Was the Church in England Roman Catholic before the Reformation?

Question V.

"Did not the Pope exercise supremacy over the Church before the Reformation, and did not the Church of England separate from Rome then?"

Answer.

The historic and constitutional position of the Church of England and her relation to other Churches have been well stated thus:—

"The Church of England of the present day is legally as well as historically continuous with that of ancient times; that continuity being founded on a regular succession of bishops from the apostolic age, and not being broken at the Reformation. In mediæval Acts of Parliamentit is called by the same name as at present, 'Ecclesia Anglicana' (25 Ed. I., 1297), 'L'Eglise d'Engleterre' (25 Ed. III., 1350). It is so called also in canons passed by Convocation, A.D. 1416, and in the Act of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII.)."

"It is part of the 'One Catholic and Apostolic Church,' named in the Nicene Cre d, and is in free communion with the ancient Churches of Ireland and Scotland, and with the modern Churches in American or in English territories, which trace their episcopal succession to the Churches of England, Scotland, or Ireland. It has never broken off communion with the Churches that recognise the jurisdiction of the Pope, nor with the Churches of the East; but it maintains strongly its position as an independent branch of the Catholic Church, subject to no authority external to the realm of England except that of a general council." (Blunt and Phillimore's "Book of Church Law.")

Through the three periods, Anglo-Saxon, Mediæval, and

Reformation, the Church of England has been one Church, with an independent existence and continuous succession; but with varying relations to the Church of Rome. Though unified, and brought into close conformity with the modes and organization of the Church of Rome, by the synod of Whitby, and by the subsequent action of Archbishop Theodore, the absolute independence of the Church of England was assured to her in the earliest Anglo-Saxon times, and maintained throughout the whole of that period. The Church of England was then in communion with the Church of Rome, maintaining friendly relations, and paying deferential respect; but vindicating her own rights, and promptly repelling aggression. The instance of Bishop Wilfrid's punishment for appeal to the Pope is sufficient proof that the Anglo-Saxon Church knew how to maintain its own independence. As papal assumptions developed, this independence became odious to the Papacy. On this point Professor Freeman has remarked, "The crime to punish which William's crusade was approved and blessed was the independence still retained by the island Church and nation. A land where the Church and nation were but different names for the same community; a land where priests and prelates were subject to the law like other men; a land where the King and his witan gave and took away the staff of the bishop, was a land which, in the eyes of Rome, was more dangerous than a land of Jews and Saracens."

Such was the Church of England as founded, and living through four centuries. During the five centuries, from the Norman Conquest to the finally complete reassertion of the King's Supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII., the attempt of the Papacy was to exercise authority, obtain jurisdiction, and effect supremacy in and over the Church of England.

Gradual, adroit, and persistent encroachments, aided and abetted by the interested or the traitorous, and sometimes acquiesced in because the final effect was unrealised, won for the Papacy, in course of time, an influence powerful and unhealthy both in Church and State. Power thus developed was unconstitutional and usurped. It was never allowed by formal Act of Church and State. When its full import and evil significance were apprehended, it was opposed both by Church and State. The Constitutions of Clarendon (A.D. 1164), Magna Charta (A.D. 1215), the Statute of Mortmain (A.D. 1279), the Statute of Provisors (A.D. 1350), the Statute of Praemunire (A.D. 1392), are indelible records of the repudiation by Church

and State of the claims of the Papacy in all their forms. Cardinal Manning long years ago described the struggle thus: "If any man will look down along the line of early English history, he will see a standing contest between the rulers of the land and the Bishops of Rome. The Crown and Church of England, with a steady opposition, resisted the entrance and encroachment of the secularised power of the Pope in England. The last rejection of it was no more than a successful effort, after many a failure in struggles of the same kind."

The last and effective rejection of the intruded authority of the Pope was the restoration of the Royal Supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII. The assertion of the Supremacy of the King, which ousted the direct action of the Papacy in England, was no new departure, but was simply the reassertion of a constitutional principle as old as Anglo-Saxon times, which had often been in abeyance, which had been perpetually infringed and abridged by papal influence, but which was once and for ever restored to the nation in the early days of the Reformation. How closely in accord are the legal and ecclesiastical views of this matter may be seen by a comparison of the words of Lord Chief Justice Coke with the words of the Church's Article XXXVII. The former says, "By the ancient laws of this realm the kingdom of England is an absolute empire and monarchy; consisting of one head, which is the king; and a body consisting of several members, which the law divideth into two parts, the clergy and laity, both of them, next and immediately under God, subject and obedient to the head." The article says, "The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction. . . . . The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England."

No speaker or writer ever stated more forcibly and clearly the relative constitutional position of Crown and Church than did Mr. Gladstone in his pamphlet on "The Royal Supremacy." (3rd edition, 1877, p. 33.)

On the preamble to the Statute for the Restraint of Appeals (A.D. 1532), he says: "In this most remarkable and perhaps unparalleled preamble, we are to observe set forth in the most formal manner—

"1. The assertion of the ancient independence of the realm of England.

"2. Of the division of the nation into clergy or the spiritualty, and the laity or temporalty.

"3. Of the supremacy of the Crown in all cases whatsoever over both.

"4. Of the authority, fitness, and usage of the spiritualty to administer the laws spiritual.

"5. Of its endownment for that very end.

"6. Of the parallel authority, fitness, and usage of the temporalty to administer the laws temporal, which are defined to be for temporal ends.

"7. Of the alliance between these two jurisdictions."

The Reformation at its outset simply repudiated an intruded, illegal, unconstitutional, outside authority which attempted to dominate in matters ecclesiastical and also civil. The Convocation of Canterbury declared "That the Roman bishop has no greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop;" the Convocation of York, "That the Roman bishop has not in the Holy Scriptures any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop."

The State absolutely forbad, and took safeguards to prevent, the exercise of any jurisdiction in the future.

The Church of England did not separate from the Church of Rome at the Reformation: for the simple reason that the Church of England was separate from her from the beginning. The Reformation repudiated Roman authority, renounced Roman errors, and reasserted the independence of the historic Church of England. As there had been no formal union of the two Churches, and as the exercise of Papal power within the Church of England had been a pure usurpation, and an outrage without any shadow of right, the Reformation was in no sense an act of separation, but was a declaration of inherent independence and a work of purification.

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Is the present Church in Wales a Descendant of the Old Church of Wales?

Question VI.

How can the Church in Wales, which is a part of the Church of England, be considered descendant from and representative of the old Church of Wales.

Answer.

In ordinary speech, by the expression "The Church in Wales" is meant the four dioceses of Bangor, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and St. David's with the thousand parishes which are included therein. Ecclesiastical Wales, as thus defined, is not conterminous with the twelve counties of Wales. The English county of Monmouth is within the diocese of Llandaff, and parts of Wales are outside the four Welsh sees. The sense in which the expression is used is, however, sufficiently clear. The Church in Wales, as thus defined, as a fact of organisation and action, is distinctly a part of the Church of England. The Welsh dioceses are four of the thirty-three dioceses of the Church of England; the parishes are a thousand of the fourteen thousand of the whole Church of England. And, as Mr. Gladstone has well said, "except for the sake of truth, and for conventional purposes, there is really no Church in Wales. The Welsh sees are simply four sees held by the Suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and form a portion of the Province, as much as any four English sees in that Province." The Church in Wales, so called, is a part of that great organic whole which is designated the Church of England.

This has been the position of the Church in Wales for nearly eight hundred years. In the twelfth century, union was

effected between what has been called the Church of Wales (Ecclesia Walliæ; Ecclesia Walensica) and the Church of England. The Welsh dioceses, first Llandaff, then St. David's, afterwards Bangor, and finally St. Asaph, accepted the supremacy of the Arch-diocese of Canterbury, and incorporated themselves with the Church of England. How the absorption of the old Church of Wales into the Church of England was effected is an interesting subject of inquiry and speculation. It must be clearly apprehended that ecclesiastical union and fusion were accomplished more than a century before the annexation of Wales to England and the incidence of English law on the Welsh people.

Canon Bevan remarks, "It is taken for granted by the modern assailant of the Church in Wales, that all the approximations to ecclesiastical union was the result, directly or indirectly, of physical force, and the Church has at all times been used as an instrument for sapping the nationality of Wales. No doubt civil and ecclesiastical supremacy went hand in hand in early times; the Church shared in the fortunes of the State. But there may have been, and probably was, a considerable amount of approximation between the Churches irrespective of political movements. . . . . The Anglo-Saxon power was gradually encroaching on Welsh independence, and with it as a natural consequence the influence of the see of Canterbury over the Welsh sees. Yet it is easy to see how this latter may have advanced independently of the Civil power, inasmuch as within Wales itself there was no Metropolitan jurisdiction, and consequently, if occasion arose to exercise it, Canterbury was ready to step in, as matter of course. . . . . That the Church in Wales should be a portion of the Church of England is in reality no badge of political subjection; it may mean no more than this, that *ecclesiastical* England is a larger area than *geographical* England; and though it is impossible to prove when or how the fusion of the British and Anglican Churches took place there is ample room for the surmise that it was the effect of ecclesiastical tendencies rather than of political domination." (*Diocesan Histories*—St. David's.)

By whatsoever means fusion was effected, two facts are certain, viz., that the diocesan and parochial life of the Church in Wales had existed for centuries previous to absorption into the Church of England, and that there was no breach of diocesan

and parochial continuity by such absorption. The present dioceses of the Church in Wales are practically identical with the original dioceses, founded in the sixth century; and the present parishes, divided or undivided, represent and are continuous of the older parishes founded in the earliest times of parochial origin in Wales.

Before even the conversion of the English, the foundation was laid and the organisation effected of the four Welsh dioceses. Each diocese claims earlier origin than the see of Canterbury. These dioceses, Bangor, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and St. David's, represent the four great principalities of early Wales. As in England, so in Wales a century earlier, the Church took for its area of diocesan function the existing political or racial divisions. And the foundation of the existing Church in Wales, thirteen hundred years ago, was doubtless a readjustment of the organic form of the earlier British Church, consequent on the invasion of England by the Saxons and the settlement of the Celts within the bounds of Wales proper. Records of the events of that period are impossible; but the merest historic instinct recognises the facts of internal convulsion, race distribution, and ecclesiastical continuity and reorganisation. Lord Selborne has well said, "Of that earliest British Church, the present four Welsh Bishoprics are monuments.

From the founding of the existing Welsh sees, and the original parishes, to the present moment, there has been no breach of diocesan and parochial continuity. The names of the dioceses and parishes of the Church in Wales assert the separateness of the origin of those dioceses and parishes from English sources and causes, and the continued retention of those names is indicative of their absolute historic continuity.

With an earlier origin than the Church of England, and an independent constitution, the Church in Wales found itself happily separated from the Church in England in its earliest days. This was the result partly of difference in ecclesiastical usages, and probably more largely than has been realised from race animosity set up between the Saxon and the Celt. The healing influence of time and the internal natural tendencies within the two Churches gradually brought them nearer together In mid-Saxon times there was little to divide the Churches.

Most friendly relations gradually developed ; an English king made a Welsh priest his councillor, whom he afterwards promoted to an English bishopric, a Welsh Bishop administered in an English see, and the Archbishop of Canterbury began to play an important part in Welsh ecclesiastical affairs. The difference which formerly separated had ceased, and the bitterness of the strife which had played around them was forgotten. There was a gradual assimilation of tendency and aim. All this paved the way for a future union and fusion which would be a natural conclusion to the gradual and real approach of the two Churches. This union and fusion became complete, and was formally acknowledged in early Norman times. The movement towards it was steady and scarcely affected by the fluctuating movements which finally brought Wales under the civil yoke of the English. Ecclesiastical unity was a fact long before the political strife between England and Wales found its termination.

Neither did the absorption of the Church in Wales into that greater organisation called the Church of England destroy the identity of the older but weaker Church, efface its distinctive character, or invalidate its claim to right and privilege. As has been said, its dioceses and parishes continued the same in fact and in succession ; and more than a century after union with the Church of England, an Archbishop of Canterbury is found writing to that king who assimilated the laws of Wales to those of England, desiring him to preserve the ancient liberties of the Church in Wales.

Thus, then, the Church in Wales, though now a part of the Church of England, in the fact of its separate origin, and of the persistent identity and unbroken continuity of its dioceses and parishes, must as certainly be considered descendant from and representative of the old Church of Wales, as the Church in England may be considered descendant from and representative of the old Church of England founded in Saxon times.

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How does the Attitude of Nonconformists towards the Church of England differ from that of the Church of England to the Church of Rome?

Question VII.

Have not Nonconformists the same right to dissent from the Church, and to claim its property for the use of the whole nation, as the Church of England had to separate from the Church of Rome and to receive its property?

Answer.

The Church of England never did separate from the Church of Rome. Such an act has always been a pure impossibility, for the Church of England has never been either a part of the organisation of the Church of Rome, or in formal subjection to Rome. The Bishop of Southwell has well said: "It is a delusion that the Church of England was ever Roman, or ever acknowledged as a Church any subjection to the Pope, or any other relation but that of an Independent English Church. It is a delusion that the Church of England seceded or separated from Rome, as indeed she could not, if she was always independent of her." **The Church of England did not separate from the Church of Rome at the Reformation; for the simple reason that the Church of England was separate from her from the beginning.** The Church of Rome had for centuries attacked and attempted

to undermine the inherent independence of the Church of England.

Once and for all, the early acts of the Reformation reasserted and secured for the Church her original independence. There was no breach of continuity; and there was no act of separation. The whole process of the Reformation was carried out on the assumption of the national independence and unbroken continuity of the Church of England. The Prayer Book, speaking of pre-Reformation times, says: "The service in this Church of England these many years hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understand not." And the Church of Rome is looked upon as one amongst other Independent Churches—with its own individual rights, but with no extraneous jurisdiction. Art. xxxvii. "The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England." Art. xxxiv. "Every particular or National Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority." Art. xix. "As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." It is evident, then, that the Church of England has not separated from the Church of Rome, but has simply maintained her natural position, and purged herself of mediæval accretions of doctrine.

But the Romanists in this country have seceded from the Church of England. In the year 1570 Pope Pius V. published a Bull of Excommunication and Deposition against Queen Elizabeth, and exhorted his followers to withdraw from the Church of England. Then commenced the Roman schism in England. English Churchmen are not separatists and dissenters from the Church of Rome; but Romanists in England are separatists and dissenters from the Church of England.

The Church of England is not in possession of property taken from the Church of Rome. It simply holds its own property, diocesan and parochial. The dioceses and parishes have always been dioceses and parishes of the Church of England; and the property has been given to, and

vested in, the corporations sole and aggregate of such dioceses and parishes of the Church of England. As there was no change of Church so there was no transference of property. The Church of England holds her property in her own right.

Before the Reformation, properly speaking, there was no Roman Catholic ecclesiastical property, except such as was held by monastic houses repudiating English ecclesiastical authority, and acknowledging no jurisdiction save that of the Papacy. On the acquisition of this property and the loss sustained by the Church, Hallam in his "Constitutional History" says: "A large proportion of conventual revenue arose out of parochial tithes diverted from the legitimate object of maintaining the incumbent, to swell the pomp of some remote abbot. These impropriations were in no one instance, I believe, restored to the parochial clergy."

The Church of England has possession of no property transferred from the Church of Rome; **but the Church of England has lost much through the action and agencies of Rome in pre-Reformation times.** There is no analogy between the relative position of Nonconformists to the Church of England, and that of English Churchmen to the Church of Rome. The Church of England stands in her original position, and holds so much of her original endowments as have been spared from Papal aggression and State cupidity. She claims nothing save what has been given to the dioceses and parishes of the Episcopal Church of England, to be used according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church, for the benefit of the whole people.

Nonconformists have withdrawn themselves from the Church and formed themselves into independent organisations. They have a right, in the admitted principle of liberty of conscience, to organise themselves on the basis of their own beliefs. Admitting for a moment, for the sake of the argument, that which has been shown to be untrue, viz., that Roman Catholic property has been transferred to the Church of England, Nonconformists could only claim on this analogy of that transfer, that a certain proportionate amount of the property of the Church of England should be transferred to them for distinctly religious purposes.

This claim is all that can possibly be made from the grounds stated; and such a claim they repudiate. The claim which is practically made is quite different. It is that, because Nonconformists have withdrawn from the Church, and because the Church does not embrace the whole nation within its fold, the property which endows the Church shall in large part be entirely withdrawn from religious uses, and be shared amongst the nation for uses of another and perhaps alien character. This claim is not substantiated in the terms of the question, and is one which cannot be maintained in any form.

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Printed and Published by Nichols and Sons, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

No 109.

Tithes, Tithe Rent-Charges, and Corn Averages.

1. Up to the year 1836 Tithes, or the tenth part of the produce of certain lands, cattle, &c., were payable in kind; the tenth sheaf of corn, the tenth calf, and so on, belonged to the tithe-owner.

2. This method of payment being very inconvenient to all parties concerned, Parliament passed the Tithe Commutation Act in 1836.

3. The object of this Act was to convert tithe into a rent-charge payable in money, according to the value of a fixed quantity of corn.

4. The value of this fixed quantity of corn was, from year to year, to be ascertained by the seven years average price of corn calculating from Christmas, 1828.

5. From the passing of this Act, Tithe Rent-Charges took the place of Tithes, which ceased to exist; the money value of the Tithes was changed into a corn value, because the value of corn does not vary so much in the course of years as the value of gold.

6. The method of carrying out the purposes of the Act was as follows:—

(*a*) The gross average money value of the Tithes of each parish for the last seven years was ascertained either by local representatives or by Government Assistant Commissioners.

(*b*) This amount of payment was apportioned amongst the various holdings theretofore subject to Tithe in each parish as the proportionate share of the several occupiers.

(*c*) The quantity of corn which could be purchased for that amount was ascertained — the money being divided into three parts, and $\frac{1}{3}$ converted into its value in wheat, $\frac{1}{3}$ in barley, and $\frac{1}{3}$ in oats, according to the average prices of the seven years last past.

7. The commutation of Tithes into a Tithe Rent-Charge was thus based on the average prices of corn from the year 1829 to 1835 inclusive: the price of wheat was 7*s.* 0¼*d.* per. bushel; of barley 3*s.* 11½*d.*; of oats 2*s.* 9*d.*; so that for £100, divided into three equal parts of £33 6*s.* 8*d.* each, 94·8 bushels of wheat, 168·4 bushels of barley, and 242·4 bushels of oats could be purchased.

8. This number of bushels of these three sorts of corn was taken as the quantity to represent £100 Tithe Rent-Charge for ever.

9. Had the price of corn been lower according to the seven years' average in 1835 a greater number of bushels would have been bought for £100; and the value of the Tithe Rent-Charge would thenceforward have been higher proportionately. Had the price of corn been higher a less number of bushels would have been procurable for the £100; and so the Tithe Rent-Charge would have been proportionately lower.

10. The value of corn is fixed every year by the market prices in the *London Gazette* on the Thursday before Christmas Day.

11. Although the Tithe Rent-Charge is now calculated from a *corn* average, it has nothing to do with the crops grown on land liable to Tithe Rent-Charge.

12. The Tithe Rent-Charge is a first payment, and may in this respect be compared to a ground-rent; a landowner leases land for building purposes, and reserves a ground-rent on every house; the lessee builds houses, and whether the houses are let or not, he pays no more ground-rent than he does if they remain empty. So with Tithe Rent-Charge as long as the land will produce rent and Tithe Rent-Charge, the Tithe Rent-Charge is a first charge; it is only when the land produces less than the Tithe Rent-Charge that the tithe-owner must submit to a reduction.

13. The landlord was intended by the Act of 1836 to have the responsibility of paying; where he has contracted with his tenants to pay the Tithe Rent-Charge, Parliament gives them the power to deduct from the rent.

Printed for the Church Defence Institution, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster.

No. 110.

The Tithe-owner's Loss under the Tithe Commutation Act, 1836.

The following statements are based upon the Evidence of Mr. R. H. Jago before the Commission on Agriculture, 1833, *Questions* 11,595-6, 11,610.

The basis upon which the Tithe Commutation Act was carried out involved a gross loss to the clerical Tithe-owner of 40 per cent.

(*a.*) 25 *per cent.*

At and previous to the Commutation 25 per cent. of the gross Tithe was by custom of years considered to represent the cost to the Tithe-owner of collecting and converting the produce of the Tithes in kind into money. This "25 per cent. it was usual to deduct for the expenses that would be incurred by the Tithe-owner in removing the Tithe from the land, stacking, thatching, thrashing and carrying the same to market. "£75 would be the value of the Tithe (£100) after deducting all expenses to which the Tithe-owner would be liable in converting the produce into money."

(*b.*) 15 *per cent.*

Previous to the Commutation Act, 1836, compositions or agreements for certain periods of 3, 5, or 7 years between the Tithe-owner and Tithe-payer had been generally in vogue. In these bargains the clerical Tithe-owner would generally be the loser.

Suppose the case of an estate the Tithe of which was £100, less 25 per cent. above referred to, £75. After ascertaining the value of the Tithes for a certain period, the clergyman would lay such valuation before his parishioners and offer to compound for, say, £60 per annum instead of £75; it then became a matter of bargain. "If the clergyman got £50 per cent. he would be very fortunate, because he was so beaten down and unwilling to take his Tithes in kind." The lay Tithe-owner generally lived out of the parish, and either let his Tithe to a farmer, or employed an agent; consequently he was not solicitous to enjoy the good opinion of the parties who paid the Tithe, nor had he any occasion to make compositions to his own disadvantage. The clergyman, on the contrary, resided amongst his parishioners, and, although he seldom claimed more than two-thirds of his legal right, he was often obliged to be contented with less than one-half.

The average amount may be taken in such cases as *at least* 15 *per cent.*, and when the Tithe was commuted, the last seven years' compositions were published, and their average taken in calculating the basis for the Commutation then about to be fixed.

The effect of the Commutation Act upon the Tithe-owner will be seen more clearly if it be borne in mind that Tithe was the tenth part not of corn only but of the whole produce, of whatever kind, of lands, green crops of all sorts, fruits, roots and grass, hay and agistment, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, poultry, dairy produce, wool, and, last but not least, of straw as well as corn itself which was commuted into a fixed quantity of that one article.

Such produce, other than corn (and of course its tenth part), might rise in value out of all proportion to the three several grains, and even rise as they fell. In fact this has happened, yet the Tithe Rent-Charge owner is tied down to the price of one of these alone, viz.:—corn.

The ratio of prices, gathered from Mulhall's *History of Prices*, p. 78, is, in 35 years ending 1884, as follows:

Meat has risen 48 per cent.
Dairy products have risen 44 per cent.
Potatoes have risen 57 per cent.
Other articles of farm produce have risen 25 per cent.
Wool alone has fallen 48 per cent.
Tithe Rent-Charge has fallen 22 per cent.

It is sometimes said that the price of corn which regulates the Tithe Rent-Charge is made higher than it should be because "tail-wheat," or wheat below good market quality, is not now included in the returns of prices. It would be very unjust were it included, because it certainly was not included in the Commutation calculation of quantities. "The tail-corn," said Mr. Chamberlain, speaking to the Essex Chamber in December, 1880, "never has been taken into account; and there is nothing new in the present system of taking averages."

If "tail-wheat," as it is called, had been included at the Commutation the price would have been lower; and consequently more bushels would have been purchasable for the same amount than was actually the case, and this would have given a greater value to the Tithe Rent-Charge than now obtains.

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WHAT VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS SAVE THE COUNTRY.

WHAT THEIR EXTINCTION WOULD COST IT.

Speech by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

What they (the majority of the opposition) wanted was popular control, that the Voluntary School Committees should accept a majority of popular representatives, that to these representatives should be given the full control of the schools, and that the voluntary subscribers to these schools should give up all power into the hands of their new masters. This proposal was, on the face of it, ridiculous. (Ministerial cheers.) He did not say it was undesirable, but he said it would be ridiculous to suppose that the supporters of voluntary schools would accept any such plan. The proposal, in short, like the first which he had examined, was a proposal for the extinction of the voluntary system. Now, had hon. members considered what their extinction would involve? The accommodation in voluntary schools amounted to 3,659,251 places, about twice the accommodation provided by Board Schools. Supposing the voluntary system were extinguished, would this accommodation still be available for purposes of education? The right hon. member for Sheffield appealed to the patriotism of the managers of the voluntary schools, and proposed that they should hand over their schools for public uses when the original purpose for which those schools had been erected should no longer exist. For his part, he did not think that the managers would do this. (Ministerial cheers.) It was highly unlikely that in the majority of cases these schools, which his right hon. friend admitted had been built, as to three-fourths of the cost, at private expense—it was highly improbable that these schools, built for a particular purpose, would be handed over to anybody for a different purpose. That was not to be expected, even if the terms of the trusts under which the schools had been erected would admit of it. To force the managers to hand over the schools—Parliament, he supposed, could do anything—would be nothing less than confiscation. (Ministerial cheers.) There was another point to be considered. They had had experience in Birmingham and other towns of voluntary schools handed over to the School Boards. In almost every case the buildings were found to be inadequate for the purposes of the School Board, insufficiently equipped and provided. (Hear, hear.) The result was that other premises had ultimately to be procured. **Well, if they extinguished the voluntary schools**

of the country they would have to provide school buildings for 3,659,000 children. (Cries of "No," and "Hear, hear.") He heard an hon. member say that the accommodation would only have to be provided for the average attendance. Such provision, he affirmed, would at once be declared insufficient by the Education Department, for provision must be made for the greatest number of children that could attend. As everyone knew, the average attendance was a very different thing from the gross attendance. It was, in fact, less by 20 or 30 per cent. What would be the use of providing schools from which, on certain days when there was a full attendance, it would be necessary to turn many of the children away? Taking the accommodation that would have to be provided if the voluntary schools were done away with as the basis of his calculation, he found that the cost would be over £40,000,000. At £12 per head that would be the cost. Taking only the average attendance, which was 2,200,000, the expenditure would be £28,000,000. It would at the very first be necessary to incur that capital expenditure, and further cost would be entailed, for the voluntary subscriptions would of course be lost. At all events, that source of income would be no longer forthcoming, and it amounted to £746,000. But there was another item of expense. The average cost of education in Board Schools was 8*s.* 4*d.* per head of the average attendance higher than in the voluntary schools. (Ministerial cheers.) He thought that the education was better, but that did not touch the point. Now this sum of 8*s.* 4*d.* per head of the average attendance was £934,000; therefore they would have to provide from the rates, if they wiped out the voluntary schools to-morrow, not only a capital expenditure either of £28,000,000 as a minimum or £40,000,000 as a maximum, but they would have to provide an annual expenditure of £1,680,000 in addition to the present rates. (Cheers.) Now the present rates were £1,232,000. They had to add 130 per cent. to the total amount of the present rates. He was ready to say, had he been dealing with a new system in this country, that undoubtedly he would infinitely prefer the system which prevailed in America—a great national system—to this system of mixed voluntary and State-aided education. It was the duty of the State to provide for the education of the children, and he should be glad to see it undertaken by the State. But as a practical man he asked whether hon. members were prepared to go to their constituents and face this expenditure. Were they prepared honestly and frankly to tell their constituents what was the practical result of the policy which in theory they approved, and which he approved? Were they prepared to tell them that there would be imposed upon them a capital cost of £30,000,000 sterling, and an annual expenditure of £1,680,000 in order to extinguish denominational schools?—*Speech in the House of Commons, Feb.* 21, 1890.

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Is Church Property, as alleged, National Property?

LORD SELBORNE'S ANSWER.

"All the endowments of the Church are constantly represented as 'National Property,' and the Clergy supported by them as 'State Paid.' *The Case for Disestablishment* (p. 65) speaks of the Church of England as 'annually subsidised out of public property,' to the extent of the whole yearly value of all its possessions, churches included, whatever value they may be; and in another place (p. 117) speaks of the claim of the Welsh people 'to be relieved from the needless burden of a costly establishment.' **There is no such 'subsidy'; there is no such 'burden.' The Church of England** is self-supporting; it **receives no pecuniary aid from the State at the present time,** directly or indirectly; **and in past times it has never received any such aid** from the State which (having regard to the magnitude of the general question) is **worth mentioning,** unless the compulsory rates formerly levied for the repairs of churches ought to be so considered. When the question was recently put in a letter to **Mr. Gladstone,** he **answered,** shortly, but emphatically :—'**The Clergy of the Church of England are not State paid.**

"It is nevertheless, upon the idea expressed or insinuated in such phrases as these, 'National property,' 'subsidised.' 'State-

paid,' and the like, that the conclusion is sought to be reached, that the property of the Church ought to be diverted from its present uses, and applied in some other way for the benefit of the nation.

"'**The truth is,' as stated by Professor Freeman,*** 'that **Church property is not National property,** except in the same sense in which all property is national property It is not *folkland, ager publicus,* property of which the nation is not only sovereign, but landlord. It ceased to be so whenever it passed into the hands of ecclesiastical corporations, or into the hands of those who founded the ecclesiastical corporations.'

"To this quotation from Professor Freeman I may add another from Burke†:—

"'From the united considerations of religion and constitutional policy—from the opinion of a duty to make a sure provision for the consolation of the feeble and instruction of the ignorant, they (the people of England) have incorporated the **Estate of the Church** with the mass of **private property, of which the State is not the proprietor,** either for use or dominion, but the Guardian only, and the regulator.'

"The word 'National' may be fitly applied to many subjects, in a sense on which no reasonable man would think of founding a claim by the State to a proprietary right. Hospitals and other charitable institutions supported by voluntary donations and subscriptions are often called National. The Bank of England is generally so called; and its agency is employed by the State for many public purposes, as to some of which its duties are prescribed by Acts of Parliament. It has also special privileges, by Charter and Statute. We speak, too, of the aggregate of all the property in the country as national wealth. But nobody, I suppose, would contend that the State is the

* *Disestablishment and Disendowment*, p. 16.

† *French Revolution* (Works, ed. 1826, vol. v. p. 191).

owner of all the property of the Bank of England, or of all the property of all the individual citizens whose fortunes go to make up the national wealth.

"There is, no doubt, a true sense in which the **Church of England** may be called **a National Institution.** It has filled a great space, and has been a great power in the national history; and, both as representing in various public ways the religion of the country, and as being connected with the State by those relations which are summed up in the word 'Establishment,' it has a just title to be spoken of as the National Church. **But this does not make its property National Property.**

"The argument which I am controverting assumes the revenues derived from Church Endowments to be funds at present belonging, in point of right and title, to the public treasury, and their appropriation to Church purposes to be the same thing in substance as if they were monies voted by Parliament. Both assumptions are **legally, historically, practically, absolutely, in every sense, untrue."**

A Defence of the Church, pp. 177 - 179.

"I will leave as a legacy to your Lordships this my solemn and deliberate declaration, staking whatever professional reputation I may have acquired, that no lawyer can prove, according to any known principle of law, that the revenues of the Church belong to the State."

LORD CHANCELLOR ELDON.

"I think the right of the Church in the property it enjoys as sacred as the right of individuals to their estates and freeholds,

and that the parson of the parish has as good right to the tenth part of the produce of the soil as the body of proprietors and occupiers have to the other nine-tenths."

LORD BROUGHAM.

"As a matter of law, the funds of the Established Church are, in my opinion, as sacred as private property."

SIR JAMES WILDE.

"The clergy have precisely the same right to the tithes as the heir-at-law has to his ancestor's estate, and the proprietor has no more reason to complain that his land is not tithe free than he has that his neighbour's field is not his own."

BLACKSTONE. Vol. II. p. 25 (1809 Edition).

"If I am a parson of a parish, I have as much right to my glebe and tithes as you have to your land, which your ancestors have in that parish for 800 years.

J. SELDEN. Table Talk, p. 15.

"Lord Brabourne says that the Tithe Commutation Act was nothing more or less than the assertion by the State to deal with tithe as national property. Is it possible that he can believe this? Does he believe that tithes, the property of lay owners, were ever supposed to be national property? If so, he is wholly wrong. But clerical and lay tithes were dealt with in the same way and on the same principles.

"B." *Times*, August 10th, 1887.

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The Truth about Tithes.

BY LORD SELBORNE.

"As to **Tithes,** whatever else may be doubtful, this is quite certain, that they **never were the property of** or payable to **the State**, either before or after their appropriation (or, in Mr. Selden's phrase, 'consecration,') as endowments, to the particular ecclesiastical corporations which became entitled to them; and also that they were **never** so **appropriated** or 'consecrated' **by any general public Act of the State.** They never entered into, and were **never granted out of,** the general **public revenue,** and **never** became **part of it under any law,** ecclesiastical or temporal, which recognised either the obligation to pay or the right to receive them. The **tithe** has been for ages **real property** by law. Its nature has been and is the same, whether in the hands of ecclesiastical or of lay tithe-owners.

The sense of **moral or Ecclesiastical obligation,** which operated upon the minds of those whose endowments first gave it that nature, **did not then, and cannot now, make it State property.** From the time of the endowment of each Parish Church, the Tithe-payer has rendered not a tenth of his own, but what was as much the Tithe-owner's as the rest was his. If the State were to withdraw or abolish the civil sanctions and remedies for the recovery of Tithes, which alone it granted or provided—if it were to do no more—they would not pass into the public treasury, from which they never came. The Church (as in France) would lose them, except where they might still be paid upon the footing of voluntary offerings; but the State would not gain, nor would the cultivators of the soil, unless farming their own land. What the advocates of Disendowment mean is, to do as was done after the suppression of the monasteries, and in the case of the Irish Church—still to exact the full amount of the Tithe from the Tithe-payer; taking it from the Church, and converting it to secular uses."—From "A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment" (Macmillan & Co.) p. 185.

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C D.I.—No. 118.

The Church in Wales,

ITS REMARKABLE REVIVAL.

"As with the buildings," (says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, January 1890), "so with the men. The spirit enshrined in material fabrics stirred the Church to its depths, and stimulated Churchmen to increasing efforts. Within the period from 1840 to 1869 the Church fully awoke to her responsibilities. The difficulties by which she was confronted were enormous. But if the need was great, so also was the effort. Multitudes had departed from her pale. Clergymen, churches, and schools, were needed for crowded haunts of labour and of trade. The country was deluged with a flood of population, which produced wealth for employers, who too often ignored their responsibilities, and proved to be 'birds of prey and passage,' a curse as much as a blessing to Wales. Without repeating the 'Treason of the Blue-Books,' there can be no doubt that the new centres of Welsh industries had become so many Alsatias, where parental discipline, education, or religious training, were practically unknown, and where high wages placed every sensual gratification within the reach of all. Once aroused, the Church strained every nerve to extend or regain her influence. All the abuses of the preceding century were eradicated. Welsh dioceses were administered by Welsh-speaking Bishops. Episcopal superintendence became a reality, and not a fiction. Archdeacons visited their arch-deaconries; the Bishops, no longer non-resident, were personally known to their clergy, and were kept informed of what was passing in every corner of their dioceses. Incumbents ceased to employ deputies, and discharged their duties in person. A knowledge of Welsh, as a written and spoken language, was made indispensable for preferment in Welsh-speaking parishes. Pluralities became extinct. Full services were performed with decency and order. Parsonage-houses were built. The

clergy were not only more strictly disciplined, but better educated, more efficiently organised, and inspired by a new spirit. New pastors were sent into new districts. New benefices were created and endowed; others, which were miserably underpaid, were increased in value. Church societies were liberally supported. The Church stepped into the forefront of the educational movement. Diocesan Boards of Education were formed in every diocese to organise, remodel, or inspect Church schools. Old parish churches were repaired, restored, or enlarged. New churches were consecrated, chapels were erected, and mission rooms licensed. The Church ceased to be exclusively a clergy Church. A place was found for laymen, which was not one of passive obedience, but of active co-operation. The laity became more conscious of the responsibilities of wealth, and increasingly generous in their support of the work of the Church. All these combined efforts produced an addition to the number of children educated in Church schools, an increase in the number of candidates for confirmation, a growth in the number of communicants, and in the average size of congregations. Encouraged by success, conscious of a good cause, invigorated by a new religious fervour, clergy and laity rallied in loyal and hearty co-operation round the ancient institution, and fought with renewed vigour 'pro ecclesiâ Dei.' The Church, once paralysed by overpowering numbers and deficiencies in her finances, now derived only fresh vigour from difficulties or opposition. At first she found, to her cost, that it was more easy to break down than to restore, to scatter than to gather. In the early years of her revived energy she paid the penalty of her former apathy. She had first to stem, and then to turn, the current. The tide, once turned, has ever since flowed with increasing volume in the direction of progress."—See *A Popular Story of the Church in Wales.*

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The Political Origin of Welsh Dissent.

A HALF FORGOTTEN STORY.

THE first Welsh Dissent was not a spontaneous outgrowth of the Christian spirit in Welshmen. It was the political creation of the English State, and was originally established, patronised, and endowed by the English State. As the Jesuits rode behind Tilly's dragoons in the Thirty Years' War, so the dragoons of the English Parliament rode before and behind the Parliamentary apostles of Dissent in Wales, Vavasor Powell and Walter Cradock. The English soldiery drove out the native Welsh priests from parish after parish, exhibited the "Act for the better propagation of the Gospel in Wales" as their charter, and cleared the ground for "the preachers approved by Parliament," as the Calvinist itinerants were called, to establish the Calvinist "gospel" of religious inequality. Vavasor Powell and Walter Cradock actually had a military as well as evangelical commission from the Council of State. There is a document amongst the State papers, in which the Parliamentary founders of Welsh Dissent are described as "Captain Vavasor Powell" and "Captain Cradock." Powell had a troop of 100 horse, and Cradock a troop of 200 horse. The object of the "Act for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales" was to abolish all the parish churches, and gather the "saints" in Wales into true "Churches"; or to disestablish religious equality, and establish religious inequality in its stead. The Separatist "Churches" gathered by Powell seem to have consisted almost wholly, if not wholly, of women. He confessed that until the English Parliament sent its apostles and dragoons across the Welsh frontier, there "were but two or three gathered congregations in all Wales." So that the first Welsh Dissent was entirely a creation of the State, a purely Parliamentary establishment; and it was forced upon the unwilling Welsh people by sword and gun. The expelled Welsh priests, whatever their character may have been (and we safely leave it to the unwilling testimony of Baxter), had been witnesses to the religious equality of every Welsh soul before God. They had claimed all the children born in the Welsh parishes as the dear children of God, and had admitted every Welsh soul into the universal human Church of the equalising sacrament of baptism. It was the doctrine of Vavasor Powell, and of the English Council of State from which he derived his mission, to establish "Churches" in Wales, as he declared again and again in his pamphlets, and in his biographies of his Church members, that when Holy Scripture spoke of the love of God to "the world," it meant the love of God to "the elect."—*From a paper read at the Cardiff Church Congress by the* Rev. T. HANCOCK.

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No. 127.

Explanation by Queen Elizabeth

OF

The Meaning in which the Doctrine of the Supremacy is to be understood.

"The Queen's Majesty being informed that, in "certain places of the realm, sundry of her native "subjects being called to ecclesiastical ministry of "the Church, be by sinister persuasion and perverse "construction induced to find some scruple in the "form of an oath which by an Act of the last "Parliament is prescribed to be required of divers "persons, for their recognition of their allegiance to "Her Majesty, which certainly never was ever meant "nor by any equity of words or good sense can be "thereof gathered; Would that all her loving sub-"jects should understand that nothing was, is, or "shall be meant or intended by the same oath to "have any other duty, allegiance, or bond required "by the same, than was acknowledged to be due to "the most noble kings of famous memory, King "Henry the Eighth Her Majesty's father, or King "Edward the Sixth Her Majesty's brother. And "further, Her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her "subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and "malicious persons which most sinisterly and mali-

" ciously labour to notifie to her loving subjects how " by the words of the said oath it may be collected " that the kings and queens of this realm, possessors " of the Crown, may challenge authority and " power of ministry of divine service in the " Church, wherein her said subjects be much " abused by such evil disposed persons; for certainly " Her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge " any authority than that was challenged and lately " used by the said noble kings of famous memory " King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the " Sixth, which is and was of ancient time due to the " Imperial Crown of this Realm; that is under God " to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner " of persons born within these her realms, dominions, " and countries, of what estate either ecclesiastical or " temporal, so ever they be, so as no other foreign " power shall or ought to have any superiority over " them. And if any person, that have conceived any " other sense of the form of the said oath, shall accept " the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or " meaning, Her Majesty is well pleased to accept " every such in that behalf as her good and obedient " subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of " penalties contained in the said Act against such as " shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the " same oath." EXTRACT.—*Ecclesiastical Courts Commission* (*Historical Appendix III., page* 73), 1883.

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No. 130.

Lord Selborne on Welsh Disestablishment.

The Earl of Selborne has addressed the following letter to Mr. Joseph Ellaby, of Carlisle, with reference to the subject of Welsh Disestablishment :—

BLACKMOOR, PETERFIELD,
September 12, 1891.

SIR,—The agitation for Disestablishment in Wales means, of course, the general disestablishment of the Church of England and nothing else, it being apparently thought more easy to succeed by dividing the operation and taking Wales first.

There is no separate Church in Wales (as there was in Ireland and is in Scotland), but only four dioceses of the Church of England, the most ancient and (from their representation of the early British Church) certainly not the least interesting.

I have treated the subject in the concluding chapter of my book in defence of the Church of England against disestablishment and disendowment, and need not, therefore, now do more than refer you to what I have there said and to what Mr. Gladstone said in 1870—which is quoted there.

These dioceses are not confined to Wales. One of them (Llandaff) includes Monmouthshire. Eleven whole parishes in Shropshire, and parts of three others, and one in Cheshire, are in another (St. Asaph). On the other hand, fourteen Welsh parishes, and part of another, are in the English diocese of Hereford; and part of a parish in the English diocese of Lichfield is also Welsh.

As to the countenance given by Mr. Gladstone to this movement, I prefer not to say what I think. You ask whether I think there is any chance of its being successful if English Churchmen generally resist it, as becomes those who care for their Church (for so I interpret your words). I am no prophet, and in this and some other things I may perhaps give my countrymen credit for knowing the value of the good institution which they have inherited from their ancestors beyond what the event, which is in the hands of God, may justify; but I can say with confidence that if English Churchmen do their duty they have *power* to prevent the success of this movement, and of all that would follow its success, against their Church, and I should hope that their resistance will be conducted in a manner more worthy of the Christian name than the attacks.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SELBORNE.

The following may also be had from the Church Defence Institution, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster:—

FACTS ABOUT THE CHURCH IN WALES. By the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 6*d.* per 100, or 4*s.* per 1,000.

FACTS ABOUT THE CHURCH IN WALES. No. 2. Numbers and Progress. 6*d.* per 100, or 4*s.* per 1,000.

CHURCH PROGRESS IN WALES. Price 6*d.* per 100, or 4*s.* per 1,000.

IS CHURCH PROPERTY, AS ALLEGED, NATIONAL PROPERTY? Lord Selborne's Answer. 1*s.* per 100.

THE TRUTH ABOUT TITHES. By Lord Selborne. 6*d.* per 100.

Specimens of Fifty Leaflets sent on receipt of Six Stamps

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THE CHURCH IN WALES.

No I.

HISTORY.

The Church in Wales is not an alien Church. It is the ancient, historic Church of Wales. The late Judge Watkin Williams, when moving his resolution for Welsh disestablishment and disendowment, in the House of Commons, on May 24th, 1870, frankly acknowledged this. "The Church Establishment in the Principality of Wales is," he said, "an ancient and venerable institution. It is not like the Church in Ireland, an alien Church, forced upon the people by a conqueror and an oppressor."

The Church in Wales is not a Church introduced into Wales by the English nation, and foisted on the Welsh people. It is the Church which was founded in Wales in the 6th century. Mr. Gladstone, referring to this, in his speech in the House of Commons, on February 20, 1891, said: "We might really speak with as much justice of the Church of Wales in England, as of the Church of England in Wales."

By the Church in Wales is meant the four dioceses of Bangor, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and St. David's; extending over the twelve Welsh counties of the Principality, and the English county of Monmouth. These dioceses were founded and established in the 6th century, before the English people had become Christian. For 1,300 years there has been a practically unbroken succession of bishops. **The Church of to-day in Wales is one with the Church of the 6th century.**

The Church in England was founded after the Church in Wales; and the two Churches lived side by side for several centuries before union was effected. The taking of the Welsh Church into the larger Church of England was not a result of the annexation of Wales to England. **Union was a gradual process.** During thirty-five years in the first half of the 12th century, each Welsh diocese separately accepted the supremacy of Canterbury. This occured 150 years before Wales was united to England. The Church in Wales is not, therefore, the Church of England introduced into Wales. **The Church in Wales has become a part of the Church of England by voluntary union and partnership.**

Through the thirteen centuries past, **the dioceses of Wales have been endowed by Churchmen.** During that period these dioceses have been divided into a thousand parishes, and in them, from their foundation, the offices and ministrations of the Church have been continuously given. **The parishes owe their churches and endowments**, and also the presence and services of the clergy within them to the **benevolence and devotion of Churchmen**, from the earliest times to the present year.

The State has done none of these Things. The State has neither established nor endowed the Church in Wales. Long before English rule in the Principality, and in times when there was no Welsh unity, **the Church founded and established herself.** She has had a long life, and has passed through many changes. But the present Church in Wales is the same institution as the Church of Dubricius, of St. David, of Deiniol, and of Kentigern. She is thirteen hundred years old, and is built on a yet earlier British Church reaching back to the first century of Christianity.

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The Church in Wales.

No. II.

TITHES.

The tithes of Wales were not created, or bestowed on the Church by the State.

Tithes existed in Wales, and were possessed by the Church, for centuries before England and Wales were joined.

Wales has only been attached to England for 700 years.

Neither English nor Welsh law created tithes.

Let search be made for such a law in libraries and Public records.

Tithes were not given by the State, or the ruling power.

The early laws of Wales, called the laws of Howel Dda, nearly a thousand years ago, distinctly stated that Church property did not proceed from the State.

Tithes are the gifts of Churchmen.

They were given in the earliest ages of the Church, for the support of the bishops and clergy.

The Church taught the duty of giving tithes, and the people practised it.

Landowners gave freely of their own, and devoted a tenth of the yearly increase of their land to the Church.

Tithes were given as a perpetual inheritance.

The nation did not give the tithes; and the nation has no right to take them away.

The tithes were given to the Church, and not to the State

There is no hardship or grievance in having to pay tithes.

If a man owns tithed land, he has either inherited it or bought it subject to the payment.

In either case, it would be dishonest to refuse payment.

Tenants who have paid tithe rent-charge, have paid a less rent to the landlord on that account.

If they had paid no tithe rent-charge, they would have paid the whole amount in rent.

The tithe rent-charge is a part of the rent.

The tithe rent-charge is the Church's share of the value of the land.

The Church has the same right to her share that the landlord has to his.

It is a false plea, to plead conscience against the payment of the tithe rent-charge.

Every man is bound to keep his bargain.

If a man has bought tithed land, he has undertaken to pay the tithe rent-charge.

If a man has inherited such land, the payment of the tithe rent-charge is one of the conditions.

If their conscience will allow them to make their bargain, their conscience ought to compel them to keep it.

It would be just as reasonable for a Churchman to refuse to pay his rent to a Roman Catholic landlord, as for a Nonconformist to refuse to pay his tithe rent-charge to the vicar of his parish.

Every man who refuses to pay his tithe rent-charge breaks his contract and violates his pledge.

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No. 133.

PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

The Church in Wales.

No. III.

TITHE RENT-CHARGE.

ITS AMOUNT AND APPLICATION.

What is the amount of the Tithe Rent-Charge in Wales and Monmouthshire? The total amount is a little over £304,000 This is its commuted or original value. But the Tithe Rent-Charge at the present time is only worth about three-quarters of its nominal value. Hence its real worth is a little over £231,500.

But the Church does not receive the whole of this. Of the £304,000, laymen own nearly £67,000. How they became possessed of so much Church property is an instructive story. About £75,500 is distributed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or is received by Schools, Colleges, &c.

The gross amount of Tithe Rent-Charge received by the rectors and vicars of Wales and Monmouthshire is a little over £154,500. Through the decreased value of the Tithe Rent-Charge, the actual amount received by them is under £118,000.

This is a less sum for the thirteen counties and the thousand parishes of Wales and Monmouthshire than the single income of many private persons, or the profits of a single colliery or a manufacturing firm.

It does not give to each parochial clergyman £118 a year on an average.

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The Continuity and Identity of Our National Church.

We know, with sufficient exactness, the times at which the points of doctrine or practice which our Church rejected at the Reformation were formulated or put in operation by Rome.

Thus, the doctrine known as Transubstantiation became current in England at the time of the Norman Conquest, but was not decreed to be a matter of faith in Rome until the Lateran Council in 1215. In England it was first declared in a formal manner in 1382.

The doctrine of Purgatory was not decreed to be a matter of faith until the Council of Florence in 1439.

The number of Seven Sacraments was similarly not decreed until the same Council.

The withholding the Cup from the laity was first decreed by the Council of Constance in 1414.

The authority of the Popes of Rome over the National Church of England was constantly pressed by the Popes upon the Church, and by the Church rejected. Owing to political reasons, it gained a

larger degree of acceptance after the Conquest than before, and still larger during the reign of King Henry III. From 1350 onwards, the protests against it, and the declarations of its being a mere usurpation, were of the most trenchant character.

Now it is manifest that the Church of England, upon which these successive experiments were made by Rome, was throughout one and the same Church, having continuity and identity from its early missionary character in the 6th century down to the time of the Reformation. Every historian, Romish or Anglican, asserts this.

If, then, the Church of England, which at first knew not of Transubstantiation, &c., was still the same after it accepted them (so far as it did accept them) as before, its rejection of them did not make it a new and different Church. If the *addition* of these tenets did not change its identity, neither could their *subtraction*. Of course they came in *one by one* at wide intervals, and later were rejected *collectively*. But this again cannot affect identity. Their sum total when accepted left identity unchanged; the discarding of their sum total left it equally unchanged.

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IS THIS A DYING CHURCH?

Read the Testimony of the Bishop of Llandaff, given at Rhyl, on October 6th, 1891 :—

"During the eight years I have been Bishop of Llandaff I have ordained **206 deacons against 99** by my predecessor in the same number of years. **Seventy additional curates** have been engaged in my diocese during the past eight years, and the salary of each, £120, represents an additional outlay of **£8,000 per annum** going out of the pockets of the Church laity in my diocese. That, certainly, is a proof that the Church laity are willing to make a sacrifice for the purpose of bringing means of grace to the masses in my diocese. Upon **Church buildings and restorations £230,000** have been spent during the eight and a half years of my episcopate, against £60,000 during the eight years my predecessor was in office. Cardiff alone has furnished £51,000 to supply additional accommodation for 6,000 people. In the Rhondda Valley fifty years ago there were only twenty or thirty farmhouses, with a population of 200 people, whilst at the present time there is in that valley a population of 85,000. The energy of the Church has been enormously taxed by that very rapidly increasing district. The member of Parliament for that district once delivered a speech in which he stated that in the Rhondda Valley a church had been erected by a nobleman who was a Roman Catholic, who afterwards presented it to the Church of England. Now, the fact is that **in the Rhondda Valley** I have seen erected **ten churches** at a cost of **£36,000,** supplying accommodation for 7,000 persons, and one of these has been erected by a single lady at a cost of £21,000. . . . . Another convincing proof of Church revival is to be found in the fact

that during the first three years of my episcopate I **confirmed 10,300 candidates** as against **7,200** by my predecessor, whilst during the **past three years** the candidates confirmed in my diocese numbered **12,400.** I have received returns of the baptism of 1,600 adults, the great majority of these being Baptists, belonging to one Nonconformist denomination. I have with me a list of the **names of eight Nonconformist ministers** who have written **imploring me to receive them into the Church.** . . . .

"I have received a list of 40 names, but I am only speaking of the cream—earnest, convinced men, who are dying to give up what they have discovered to be errors, and to be received into the communion of the Church. But if they were received they would have to undergo a severe ordeal—for they would be obliged to spend twelve months as lay readers, and for this they would only receive a salary of some £50 per annum. **One** of these ministers has already **given up** a place where he had been in receipt of **£200 a year,** and has accepted £50 a year as a lay reader, although he has seven children to maintain. I have received **another** minister who, although he has a wife and two children, has also **sacrificed £250 a year** for the sake of entering the Church. This person resides just outside the Principality, but he is a thorough Welshman. These are significant facts as to the revival of the Church in the Principality. . . . . It has been said that there are in my diocese many rich people, but there are also thousands of poor working men who gain their bread by the daily toil of their hands. In one district **ten** of these **men brought £100** to the Clergy **to build a church, whilst others undertook the whole of the work of digging the foundations** and making other local preparations. That church was consecrated last October, and is so full that I have been asked to give a grant to enlarge it. **Is this a Church that is doomed?"**

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No 140.

Some Useful Facts

THE only Parliamentary Grants to the Church of England were £1,100,000 to Queen Anne's Bounty for the augmentation of small benefices (1809-1820), and £1,500,000 for Church building in 1818 and 1824.

The English *Regium Donum* for necessitous Dissenting Ministers and their widows (1722-1852) amounted to £216,660; the Irish *Regium Donum* to the Presbyterian body (1690-1870) amounted to £1,903,854. When the Irish Church was disestablished, the Act provided that the annual grants should cease, and compensation was given to the extent of £768,929 out of the Church funds. Altogether, therefore, the Irish Presbyterians have had £2,672,783 from the State, or more than the whole Church of England.

The Ecclesiastical Commission was established in 1836 for the better administration of the Revenues of the Church of England. During a period of fifty years (1840-1890), the Commissioners have received from private benefactions £164,340 per annum, in perpetuity, equivalent to a permanent increase of endowment of £4,930,000.

Queen Anne's Bounty Fund was established in 1703, when Queen Anne declined to take for her own use the First Fruits and Tenths paid by the Incumbents of the larger benefices (which each of her predecessors from Henry VIII., with the exception of Queen Mary, had annexed to the Crown revenues), and directed them to be applied to the improvement of the smaller benefices.

Lord Hampton's return, moved for in 1874, showed that in 34 years no less than £25,548,000 had been spent upon the building and restoring of Churches, in sums exceeding £500. A supplementary return (1873-1890) has now been granted on the return of the Duke of Westminster.

The whole of the Tithes in Wales amount to £274,493. Of

this sum £8,159 is paid to schools and colleges, £67,663 to clerical appropriators and lessees, £61,169 to lay appropriators, while £137,500 is paid to the parochial clergy. Only £205,000 is, therefore, assigned to the Church altogether, and at the present value of tithe, a deduction of one-fourth ought to be made from this to arrive at the actual sum which the Church receives when all is paid up.

In 1831 there were 611 Incumbents in Wales for 843 benefices; at the present time there are 956 for 996 benefices. In 1831 there were 72 curates; now there are 518. The total number of clergy at work in Wales is double the number that could have been found in 1831.

There are 19,419 Elementary Schools in England and Wales, and of these 11,900 are in connection with the Church of England.

On the building and maintaining of Schools, the Church has expended no less a sum than £33,796,000 since 1811.

The Universities and their Colleges have organised 9 Missions in London, the Public Schools 22.

On Hospital Sunday, 1891, the collection in St. Jude's, South Kensington, amounted to £1,300. This was more than the Wesleyans throughout London contributed. How the hospitals and all other charities would suffer if the ancient endowments of the Church were confiscated!

In one district of South Wales ten poor working men brought during 1891 £100 to the Clergy to build a Church, whilst others undertook the whole of the work of digging the foundation and making other local preparations.

In three successive periods of three years, candidates for Confirmation in the Diocese of Llandaff have increased from 7,200 to 10,300, and from 10,300, to 12,400.

During the Episcopate of the present Bishop of Llandaff, ten new Churches have been built in the Rhondda Valley, at a cost of £36,000.

Printed by W. I. Richardson, 4 and 5, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

No. 141.

The Church of England, the Old Historic Church of the Land, not Established at the Reformation.

The following passages are taken from "Disestablishment and Disendowment" (3rd Edition), by the late eminent Historian Mr. E. A. Freeman.

"The Ecclesiastical Endowments of England have grown up, like everything else in England, bit by bit. A number of Ecclesiastical Corporations have been endowed at all manner of times, and in all manner of ways; but **there was no particular moment when the State of England determined to endow one general religious body called the Church of England.**" (p. 20.)

"We must assume, because **the facts of history compel us to assume, the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation with the Church of England before the Reformation.**" (p. 21.)

"We have in short to get rid of the notion that there was some time or other when the Church was Established by a direct and formal act. . . . . There was no moment when the nation or its rulers made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up an Established Church, any more than there was a moment when they made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up a government by King, Lords, and Commons." (pp. 31, 32.)

"**The popular notion clearly is that the Church was 'established' at the Reformation.** People seem to think that Henry VIII., or Edward VI., or Elizabeth, having perhaps already 'disestablished' an older Church, went on next to set purpose to 'establish' a new one." (p. 34.)

"**As a matter of history and law, nothing of the kind ever happened.** As a matter of law and history, however it may be as a matter of theology, **the Church of England after the Reformation is the same body as the Church of England before the Reformation.**" (p. 34.)

"There was no one act called 'the Reformation'; the Reformation was the gradual result of a long series of acts. **There was** no one moment, **no one Act of Parliament,** when and **by which a Church was 'established'; still less** was there **any Act by which one Church was 'disestablished' and another Church 'established'** in its place." (p. 35.)

"Nothing was further from the mind of either Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth than the thought that either of them was doing anything new. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of establishing a new Church, or of establishing anything at all. In their own eyes **they were not establishing but reforming; they were neither pulling down nor setting up, but simply putting to rights.**" (p. 35.)

"They were **getting rid of innovations and corruptions;** they were **casting off an usurped foreign jurisdiction, and restoring to the Crown its ancient authority over the State Ecclesiastical.**" (p. 36.)

Printed by NICHOLS & SONS, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

What Statesmen have said about the Church.

"It is the Church of England which has made England what the is, a nation of honest men."—*The Duke of Wellington.* (*"Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, 1831-1851," *by the Fifth Earl Stanhope, 3rd edition, p.* 282*).*

"If I would keep up the Established Church of England it is not for the sake of lords and baronets, and country gentlemen of £5,000 a year, and rich bankers in the city. The person about whom I am uneasy is the *working man.* What is to become of him under the voluntary system?"—*Lord Macaulay.* —*Speech in the House of Commons, April,* 1845.

"An Establishment with an enlightened toleration is as necessary to the peace of the State as the maintenance of religion, without which the State can have no solid peace."—*Lord Eldon.*

"When I look to moral tone, if nobleness is repelled from holy orders, I know not where it has taken refuge. There is far more of it, as well as of bounty, devotion, and self-sacrifice, amongst the clergy out of all sight than amongst the laity."—*Mr. Gladstone.—Letter to Mr. Eubule Evans, September,* 1875.

"The maintenance of the Church of England is, without the least exaggeration, a poor man's question. It is emphatically a poor man's question! and, if ever by our own folly we are cursed with the loss of the Church of England, it will be thus that the great difficulty will make itself felt."—*The late Earl of Carnarvon.—Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Church Defence Institution, July* 6, 1881.

"I oppose it (Disestablishment) because I believe that the Church is an institution firmly rooted in a great number of

the hearts of the community, and that it could not be disestablished or disendowed without a prolonged conflict, without compulsion, which would bring the country nearer to civil war than its opponents would conceive."—*The Duke of Devonshire (when Lord Hartington) at Accrington, October 30th,* 1885.

"It is more than idle to sneer at the greediness of Churchmen because they desire that the pecuniary means of the Church should be increased, and that at all events it should not be deprived of any part of the income to which it is justly entitled. Resolutely to defend that income I hold to be the duty of all Churchmen, from the highest to the lowest, and I cannot, therefore consider without pain what seems to me failure of the members of our Church to perform this duty."—*Earl Grey.—Letter on "John Bull and His Establishment," January,* 1891.

"What I maintain is this: that the Clergy of the Church of England do exercise a wide and powerful influence—wide and powerful by the very fact that they are the Clergy of an Established Church—and believing as I also do, that this wide and powerful influence is in the main exerted for good, I dare not make myself responsible for destroying it." . . . . "I dare not, I am not prepared, I should think it wrong, to vote for either the Disestablishment or the Disendowment of the Church of England."—*The late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., January* 7, 1878.

"There never has been a religion of the State (the few years of the Parliament only excepted), but that of the *Episcopal Church of England;* the Episcopal Church of England, before the Reformation connected with the see of Rome, since then disconnected and protesting against some of her doctrines, and against the whole of her authority as binding on our National Church; nor did the fundamental laws of this kingdom ever know at any period any other Church as an object of establishment."—*Burke, Letter to Sir H. Langrishe,* 1792, "*Works,*" *vol. iii. page* 309.

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An Established Church no Grievance to Nonconformists.

The Established Church exists for all, and its churches and ministers are for the service of all.

From time to time certain bodies of men have gone out from the Church, and have formed religious communities, with chapels and ministers of their own.

At any time, however, they, or any single person belonging to them, may return and claim their place, with all the advantages to be found, in the National Church.

But so long as they remain outside they are not obliged to subscribe one penny to the support of the Church they have left; nor does the State take anything from them to give to the Church.

They ought not to complain or feel aggrieved, but rather be thankful, because the Church, by the devotion and self-sacrifice of her sons and daughters, grows stronger and more useful every day.

There is still great sin, and misery, and ignorance in the country; and all should rejoice in the efforts which are being made by the Church to remove these.

But if the Church were disestablished and disendowed all such efforts would be hindered and weakened, while Nonconformists, as they themselves allow, would gain nothing.

They enjoy religious liberty now, and would not be a bit better off then.

Only God's service, and the poor, and good works generally, would suffer.

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WORKING MEN ELECTORS!!!

Have nothing to do with those who would injure the Church.

The Poor Man has no better friend than the Church.

Who is it that has provided Schools for nearly half of your children?

The Church of England.

Who has spent £37,000,000 of money on the Education of the Poor?

The Church of England.

Who is your best friend in sickness or in trouble?

The Clergyman of the Church of England.

Who are the chief supporters of the Charities of the Country?

Members of the Church of England.

Who contribute more than three-fourths of the money on the London Hospital Sunday?

Members of the Church of England.

What were the men we most revere—like WELLINGTON, and Lord SHAFTESBURY, and General GORDON?

Members of the Church of England.

To what does England owe her glorious Constitution?

To the Church of England.

And LASTLY, who gave you your English Bible?

The Church of England.

Working Men Electors—Do not be misled. Think for yourselves. If the Liberationist agitators had their way, the National Schools, to which you owe so much, could no longer be kept open; the old Churches might be sold; hospitals and other charities would suffer grievously; and you would lose your best friend. Give no Vote therefore to a candidate who declares that he means to support the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church.

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C.D.I. No. 146.

Why you should NOT Disestablish the Church.

BECAUSE the Church is not only the oldest, but the greatest institution of the country.

BECAUSE, as the Duke of Wellington said, "the Church has made England what she is, a nation of honest men."

BECAUSE **the Church** is above all things **the Church of the poor** and for the poor.

BECAUSE the Church cared for the Education of the poor long before the Government or anyone else thought about it.

BECAUSE the **Church** has **built** nearly **twelve thousand schools for the poor**, three-fourths of them entirely at her own cost.

BECAUSE the Church is doing more and better work every day, both for religion and education.

BECAUSE the **Church** is far away the **largest supporter of the Hospitals** and other charities of the country.

BECAUSE God has blest England with her Church, through her Church, and I believe for the sake of her Church.

And therefore it would be **wrong** and **ungrateful**, and most unwise to do anything **to stop or hinder the work** of the Church, by taking from her her position as the National Church, or depriving her of the money with which she is doing so much good.

Printed and Published by W. I. Richardson, 4 and 5, Great Queen Street. Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C

C.D.I. No. 147.

What Disestablishment did in Ireland.

On January 1st, 1871, the union between the Churches of England and Ireland was dissolved, and the Church of Ireland ceased to be established by law.

Every Ecclesiastical Corporation, sole or aggregate, and every Cathedral Corporation was dissolved, **Compensation** being given to vested interests.

All property was vested in **Commissioners of Church Temporalities.**

Power was given to create a Corporation, **the Church Representative Body,** to hold and manage property of the disestablished Church.

Churches in use at the passing of the Act were conveyed to the Church Representative Body, as also were burial-grounds attached to them.

Upon payment to the Temporalities Commissioners, any **See or Glebe house,** with garden, &c., might be **vested in the Church Representative Body;** and when any ecclesiastical residence had been so vested, **30 acres in the case of a see-house,** and **10 acres** in case of **a glebe-house,** might **also** be conveyed to the Church Representative Body, **upon payment** of a sum determined by arbitration.

In lieu of **private endowments,** the Temporalities Commissioners paid £500,000 to the Church Representative Body.

The **Bishops and Clergy** received annuities, upon condition that they remained at their posts, from the Temporalities Commissioners, equal to their net income.

When application was made to **commute** a life-interest, the Commissioners were authorised to pay a capital sum equivalent to the life-interest to the Church Representative Body, and when three-fourths of the Clergy of a Diocese commuted, a bonus of 12 per cent. was added, upon the Church Representative Body taking over the responsibility of the annuities.

Nearly all the Clergy did commute, and the **Church** Representative Body thus **received a capital sum of £7,581,471,** charged with annuities £596,651.

N.B.—The net value of the **property** of the Church of Ireland **previous to Disestablishment** was estimated at **£16,000,000.**

Printed for the Church Defence Institution by Nichols and Sons, 25, Parliament Street.

Fifteen Statements about the Church of England.

1.—The Church is the Society which was founded by Jesus Christ Himself.

2.—In England, the Church was not "established," or set up by the Parliament. She existed long before it.

Earliest Recorded Bishops in Britain . .	A.D. 314.
First Archbishop of Canterbury . . .	„ 597.
First King of England	„ 827.
First Complete Parliament	„ 1295.

3.—No new Church was set up or established at the Reformation. The Church of England is the same Society after as before, only reformed; and holds the same Creeds as before, administers the Sacraments as before, and has the same three Orders of the Ministry, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. These Orders have been handed down from the Apostles' time, in an unbroken succession, by the Laying on of Hands in Ordination.

4.—The Church of England never was a part of the Church of Rome, but was in communion with her up to the time of the Reformation. And while in communion with the Roman Church, the English Church continued to assert her own independence as a National Church, and struggled against every attempt on the part of the Church of Rome to take her independence away.

5.—The position of the Church of Rome, as regards doctrine, was not the same before the English Reformation as it is now. Her erroneous doctrines, which were then also held by the Church of England, were not put forth as necessary articles of faith, though enforced by Church censures. But after the separation between the two Churches, the Church of Rome formed them into a new creed, and said of that creed: "This is the true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved." This difference in the Creeds held by the Roman Church, and those held by the rest of the Catholic Church, gave rise to the distinguishing term *Roman* Catholic. Hence, the Church of England, never having held that new Creed, was never Roman Catholic.

6.—The Cathedrals, Parish Churches, and other property of the Church, never belonged to the Roman Church. They were built and founded by, and always belonged to, the Church of England.

7.—No Act of Parliament took the Property of the Church from one Religious Body and handed it over to another at the Reformation. The property of the Church of England belongs to her, and to no other body.

8.—The property of the Church (Glebe, Tithes, &c.) was not given to her by the State. It has been given to her voluntarily by Churchmen themselves, at different times during her long history.

9.—Church Property is not National Property. It was not given to the Nation, but to the Church. The Nation has never owned it.

10.—Tithes are not an extra burden on the tenant. Land which is tithe free is sold at a higher price than land which is charged with tithe. Now the tithes are paid direct by landlords whose land is subject to a tithe rent charge, the tenants paying a higher rent. The amount paid is the same as in the past, when the tenants paid rent and tithes, but is now paid only as rent, while the landlord pays the tithe portion.

11.—Tithes do not belong to the landlord. When he bought, or inherited the land, he did not buy or inherit the tithes. He bought or inherited the land subject to the tithes. He knew he would always have to pay them; therefore, if he bought the land, he paid so much less for it.

12.—If the Church were disendowed, tithes would still have to be paid. Only they would be paid to the State, as is now done in Ireland, instead of to the Church.

13.—"Disendowment" means the taking away of property which belongs to the Church. To take away property from its rightful owner without compensation, or without just cause, is to break the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal."

14.—Church Property has all been dedicated to the Service of God If it is wrong to take away other kinds of property, it must be still more wrong to take away property which has been consecrated to the Service of God.

15.—"Disestablishment means, practically, that the State, as a State, shall no longer have any Religious Profession, or any laws or institutions in which such a profession is expressed or implied; and that there shall be no one bound by the law of the land to perform the Public Offices of Religion in any parish or place.

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CHURCH WORK IN WALES TO-DAY.

"The Established Church in Wales is an Advancing Church, an Active Church, a Living Church, and, I hope very distinctly, a rising Church from elevation to elevation."—The Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Speech in the House of Commons, Feb. 20, 1891.

I. The Clergy.

With a **population** of **1,781,521,** and containing **351,399 inhabited houses**, the **4** Welsh **Dioceses** under their **4** Several **Bishops**, suffragans of the Province of Canterbury, comprise **1,010 Benefices**, served by **976 Resident Incumbents** and **512** Assistant Curates, giving an average of one clergyman to every 1,200 of the population.

In 1892 the net **income** of the Beneficed Clergy averaged **£200 per annum**; in 1831 the average was £221. The **clergy** now number **1,488**; sixty years ago they were but 700. Thus, while the Clergy are twice as numerous as they were, their stipends have decreased more than £20 per annum.

Here are the details:—

Diocese.	Population 1891.	Inhabited Houses.	Benefices.	Rural Deaneries	Rectors or Vicars.	Assistant Curates.
Bangor	215,956	49,391	143	14	143	90
Llandaff	799,376	141.202	245	20	245	208
St. Asaph	270,180	57,562	208	16	208	94
St. David's	496,009	103,244	414	29	380	120
TOTALS	1,781,521	351,399	1,010	79	976	512

N.B.—In 90 parishes of the Diocese of St. Asaph, the Clergyman is the only resident minister of religion. Of the 512 Curates, 1 in the diocese of St. Asaph, and 3 in the Diocese of St. David's are "in sole charge."

II. Church Building.

The amount of money which has been expended in sums over £500 on **Church Building** and **Restoration** in the last half-century furnishes evidence of the progress of Church life in the Principality. Two Parliamentary Returns, the former (Lord Hampton's) covering a period of 33 years, and the latter (the Duke of Westminster's) a period of 18 years, show an aggregate sum total of £2,216,723, or an average of over £2,000 in each parish spent on the building, restoring and enlarging of parochial and cathedral Churches in the four Welsh Dioceses. Had sums under £500 been included, **the figures would have been considerably larger.**

PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS (LORD HAMPTON'S & DUKE OF WESTMINSTER'S).

Schedule of Church Building and Restoration in Sums over £500.

	1840-1873.	1874-1891.	1840-1891. Total.
	£	£	£
Bangor	161,312	143,527	304,839
Llandaff	145,111	335,350	480,461
St. Asaph	408,371	233,209	641,580
St. David's	374,453	415,390	789,843
	Grand	Total ...	2,216,723

The number of **Churches built** in the **ten years** ending December, 1893, was **108**; of those **restored** or **enlarged, 185**; the **amount spent** in the year **1893** alone on Church Building, Endowment, Parsonage-Houses and Burial Grounds through the Voluntary Contributions of Churchmen in the Principality reached the sum of **£78,421,** without reckoning collections for Church Societies.

	No. of Churches 10 years ending 1893. Built.	Restored.	Total Voluntary Contributions in 1893 for Church Building, &c.
Bangor	10	22	£10,604
Llandaff	64	60	45,611
St. Asaph ...	10	28	8,942
St. David's ...	24	75	13,264
	108	185	£78,421

III. Money Expended on the Four Welsh Cathedrals, 1840–1891.

The amount spent in 41 years, in sums over £500, on the restoration of the four Cathedrals was, as shown by the two Parliamentary returns referred to under II., no less than £117,949. The following are the details :—

Bangor	£31,104	St. Asaph	£9,969
Llandaff	33,424	St. David's	43,452

Total ... ... £117,949.

IV. Confirmation Statistics.

The **Returns** of **Confirmations** furnish clear evidence of the diligent work of the Clergy. While in **English** Dioceses the average **increase** in the number of Candidates for Confirmation in the ten years ending 1889 was **8 per cent.**; in the **four Welsh Dioceses** it was **22 per cent.** This progress continues; during the ten years ending Easter, 1892, there were confirmed 96,545 persons, being an average per year of 9,654, while for the year ending Easter, 1893, the number was 11,540, and in 1894, 8,825.

	Confirmations for Ten Years ending 1892.				Confirmations in 1894.			
Bangor	238	Centres	10,167	Candidates.	24	Centres	676	Candidates
Llandaff	491	„	38,047	„	64	„	4,250	„
St. Asaph	301	„	20,800	„	13	„	823	„
St. David's	482	„	27,531	„	63	„	3,076	„
	1,512	„	96,545	„	164	„	8,825	„

V. Voluntary Contributions towards Schools and Colleges in Wales, from 1811 to 1893 inclusive.

Schools and Colleges.	1811-1870.	1871-1893.	Totals.
Building	£387,879	£448,512	£836,391
Maintenance	521,116	930,204	1,451,320
	£908,995	£1,378,716	£2,287,711

VI. Increase in Sunday School Scholars and Communicants.

1. The increase in the number of Sunday School Scholars is very remarkable, the attendance having grown **30 per cent. in the last nine years**, *i.e.* from 92,000 in 1885, to 131,325 in 1894. The latest returns are as under :—

SUNDAY SCHOOL SCHOLARS, EASTER, 1894.

	Infants.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Bangor	3,065	4,967	5,452	13,484
Llandaff	14,970	19,538	21,547	56,055
St. Asaph	6,439	9,091	9,938	25,468
St. David's	9,404	12,951	13,963	36,318
	33,878	46,547	50,900	131,325

2. The increase in the number of Communicants is even more striking. In 1885 they were 74,778; in 1894, 120,477. The latest return gives the following figures :—

COMMUNICANTS, EASTER, 1894.

Bangor	12,791	St. Asaph	23,301
Llandaff	41,407	St. David's	42,978

Total in Welsh Dioceses, 120,477.

VII. Voluntary Contributions and Clerical Incomes.

1. The VOLUNTARY OFFERINGS for Church work in Wales for one year (Easter, 1893, to Easter, 1894) are as follow :—

Bangor	£33,705 2 10	St. Asaph	£52,634 3 0
Llandaff	102,545 10 6	St. David's	51,758 7 10

Total Voluntary Contributions, £240,643 4s. 2d.

2. The NET INCOME of the Clergy is as follows :—

Bangor	£27,868 13 10	St. Asaph	£47,135 17 11
Llandaff	43,416 6 3	St. David's	67,625 6 1

Total Clerical Income, £186,046 4s. 1d.

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On the "Tripartite Division of Tithes."

The following are some of the opinions from Professors of the Universities in the United Kingdom.

From the late Dr. E. A. Freeman, Professor of History at Oxford.

I know of no English authority for the alleged tripartite division of Tithes. I have never specially worked at the subject; but I think, if there had been such a thing, I should have come across it somewhere. Nor do I think that Lingard, Kemble, or Stubbs knew anything of it.

From Dr. Stubbs, Lord Bishop of Oxford, late Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

I do not think that I can add any more than that your line of argument is the right one: that the practice never was adopted in England, and that the passages alleged in support of it are either altogether unauthorized, or merely statements of an ideal state of law conformable to the uses of some foreign Churches.

From Professor J. Kirkpatrick, University of Edinburgh (Faculty of Law).

I never heard of a tripartite division of Tithes in England, or even in Scotland, which derived a good many of its institutions from France.

From Dr. Westcott, Lord Bishop of Durham, late Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

I need not say that I have not met with any English Canon which justifies the assertion which you quote. Everywhere, as far as I know, the Tithes are spoken of as the absolute property of the Church, in the limited sense of the middle ages. A Constitution assigned to Otho (Wilkins, "Concilia," i., 214) implies that gifts to the poor were to

come from the residue after the Tithe was paid—"de novem partibus sibi vivat et eleemosynas tribuat."

FROM THE REV. GEORGE J. STOKES, D.D., PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

The Professor of Modern History has sent me your letter as to the mode in which Tithes were formerly divided, as belonging to my department.

I never heard of any such threefold division of Tithes in England or Ireland as you refer to.

Selden in his "History of Tithes" refers to the well-known fact that there used to be a threefold division of the offerings made by the Christians of the First Ages, for the Clergy, the Bishop, and the Poor, but does not even hint that such a law applied to the original institution of Tithes in this country.

People now forget that the Endowments of the Clergy, though called Tithes, are not really tenths at all, nor even fiftieths. Charlémagne's Capitulary enforced a real tenth of everything. I am sure if my Parishioners paid me that, I should gladly consent to give, not a third, but a half of it to the Poor, and be much better off than I am. The *Professor of Modern History agrees in this view.*

FROM REV. CANON BRIGHT, D.D., PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, OXFORD.

Bishop Stubbs' judgment, even without "notes" and "illustrations," might well be final with students of our history.

FROM PROFESSOR MONTAGU BURROWS, CHICHELE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, OXFORD.

You have in Stubbs and Freeman a host in themselves in a point of this kind, and quite enough for your purpose.

See "The Alleged Tripartite Division of Tithes in England," by Rev. Morris Fuller, M.A.

Printed by NICHOLS & SONS, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

The Church in Wales

REASONS
Why it ought not to be Disestablished and Disendowed.

BECAUSE

1. Its Endowments were Voluntary Gifts to God for religious purposes, and none of them came from the State.

2. It is using these Endowments for the purpose for which they were given, and year by year supplementing them by further Voluntary Gifts.

3. By means of these Endowments provision is made for the public worship of God and the ministry of the Gospel in every parish.

4. If these Endowments were taken away, £250,000 a year would have to be raised for the same purposes by the members of the Church. She would therefore have less means of supporting Hospitals, Schools, and other good Institutions for the benefit of the people of Wales, and Missions to the heathen.

5. The Church in Wales is part of the Church of England, and the people of the whole country ought to be consulted as to their desires on the question.

6. By having an Established Church the Nation as a whole acknowledges God.

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C.D.I. No. 158.

THE PLACE OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM IN THE NATIONAL LIFE.

THE LATE SIR JAMES STEPHEN, the distinguished Judge, in his *History of the Criminal Law* (Vol. iii. p. 366), bore the following remarkable testimony to the value of definite teaching through the Church Catechism:—

"The Criminal Law may be described with truth as an expansion of the second table of the Ten Commandments. The statement in the Catechism of the positive duties of man to man corresponds step by step with the prohibitions of a Criminal Code. Those who honour and obey the Queen, will not commit high treason or other political offences. Those who honour and obey in due order and degree those who are put in authority under the Queen, will not attempt to pervert the courts of justice, nor will they disobey lawful commands or violate the provisions of Acts of Parliament, or be guilty of corrupt practices with regard to public officers, or in the discharge of the powers confided to them by law.

"Those who hurt nobody by word will not commit libel or threaten injury to person, property, or reputation, nor will they lie in courts of justice or elsewhere, but will keep their tongues from evil speaking, lying and slandering. Those who hurt nobody by deed will not commit murder or administer poison, wound, or assault others, or burn their houses or maliciously injure their property.

"Those who keep their hands from picking and stealing will commit neither thefts nor fraudulent breaches of trust nor forgery, nor will they pass bad money. Those who keep their bodies in temperance, soberness, and chastity will not fall into a multitude of abominable offences, but avoid the causes which lead to the commission of nearly all crimes. Those who learn and labour truly to get their own living will not be disorderly persons, cheats, impostors, rogues, or vagabonds, and will at all events have taken a long step towards doing the duty in the state of life to which it has pleased God to call them.

"The criminal law may be thus regarded as a detailed exposition of the different ways in which men may so violate their duty to their neighbours as to incur the indignation of society to an extent measured not inaccurately by the various punishments awarded to their misdeeds."

[TURN OVER.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

TESTIMONY FROM THE HIGHEST AUTHORITIES.

"Their Lordships are strongly of opinion that no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which the intellectual instruction is not subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion."—*Minute of the Committee of the Council on Education, September 24th*, 1839.

"The intention of the Minutes of 1846 was to give an impulse to the growth and improvement of the system founded by religious communions," and the grants made under the conditions set forth in them "drew every religious communion (except the Congregational Dissenters and bodies allied with them) into co-operation with the Government, and created a vast denominational system which firmly established popular education *on a religious basis*."—*Mem. on Public Education*, 1868, *by the Rt. Hon. Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, page* 8.

"The religious element underlies the whole system of Privy Council Education."—*Right Hon. R. Lowe, House of Commons, February 13th*, 1862.

"We want a good secular teaching for these children, a good Christian teaching and good schoolmaster." . . . . .

"The standard of right and wrong is based on religion."—*Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Speeches in House of Commons*, 1870.

"We are persuaded that the only safe foundation on which to construct a theory of morals or to secure high moral conduct is the religion which Jesus Christ has taught the world."—*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1888, p. 113.

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THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION. By the Rev. C. A. Wells. The Story of what the Church of England has done for the Children of the Poor.

LEAFLETS.

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No. 115. WHAT VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS SAVE THE COUNTRY: WHAT THEIR EXTINCTION WOULD COST IT. By Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P. 4*s.* per 1,000

No. 98. THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION. (Showing what the Country owes to the Church for the Education of the Poor.) 4 pp., 1*s.* per 100, or 8*s.* per 1,000.

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No 160.

THE LATE BISHOP LIGHTFOOT

ON

DISESTABLISHMENT.

Extracts printed in the "Houghton-le-Spring Parish Magazine," with some Introductory Remarks by the Rev. Hon. J. GREY, *in October*, 1885.

ON Sunday evening, October 25th, 1885, the Rev. Hon. J. GREY, preaching in the Parish Church of Houghton-le-Spring, made the following remarks, introducing various extracts from the speech of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, to the Diocesan Conference held in Durham, on October 20th of that year.

I am going to ask your attention this evening to some words spoken on Tuesday last by the Bishop of Durham. You know well the man he is, how his noble character has impressed itself not only upon the people of Northumberland and Durham, but, I may boldly say, in all parts of England. They know him to be a man of transparent truthfulness and sincerity, of calm judgment, by temperament and principle always anxious to look on all sides of a great question, and a man of surpassing ability. Nonconformists as well as Churchmen look up to him with profound respect. We all feel proud to have such a man in our midst. His words come to us with all the weight of a wise, calm, clear judgment, carefully thought over, deliberate.

The words I am going to read to you this evening are the deliberate words of such a man. But before I do this, let me explain why I am going to do this—it is because I suppose

many of you would not be likely to have an opportunity of reading the Bishop's words—it is because I think it will be good for all of us to think over them.

You know well I have never once during all the years of my ministry in this parish allowed any allusion whatever to political controversies in this sacred place, nay, I may say more, I have never thought it becoming in my position as Rector of this parish to endeavour to influence any one in the various Elections that have occurred during those many years; not one person in this parish has ever found me attempting to interfere in Party politics, therefore I am confident you will all feel sure that what I am now doing is not for any political consideration whatever. My feeling has always been that the Church is not, must not, cannot be of any political party. We have to win to the Service of Christ men of all parties. The Church of Christ is something higher and better than any political party. But now, when the Church is attacked, our duty is quite plain, quite clear. We as Churchmen, whatever our political connexions may be, have to resist the attempts of those who wish to disestablish the Church, and to apply to secular purposes the property and the gifts that have been given to God. We cannot allow this to be made a matter of Party strife. We must do our best to hand down the blessings we have received from our fathers—we dare not take part with those who would rob our children of the ministrations of the Church of England. I ask you now to listen to the wise words spoken by the Bishop of Durham at the meeting of the Diocesan Conference in Durham on Tuesday last.

["Writing in March, 1893, while I adhere to all I have said against the interference of clergymen in Party politics, I must add that this by no means implies that I do not consider it the duty of every loyal Churchman to do his best to repel the attack which is now being made on the National Church. Surely every loyal Churchman ought to refuse to give his vote to any candidate who declines to pledge himself to vote against any Bill hostile to the Church." Have they not a right, as Bishop Lightfoot said in 1885, and is it not their duty, regardless of all

Party ties, to ask those who seek to represent them in Parliament, and to press the question home, whether or not they intend to vote for Disestablishment, and what they mean by Disestablishment."—J. G.]

After some preliminary remarks, his Lordship proceeded as follows:—

"I desire to speak at some length on a subject of incomparably greater moment, as it affects vitally not the interests of a single diocese at the present time, but the well-being of the whole Church of England with her dependencies, for many generations to come. I refer to the question of Disestablishment. Those who know me best will least need to be assured that I only take up this subject with extreme reluctance. From natural temperament and deliberate principle alike, I shrink from the controversy of religious politics. It has been hinted to me that I should not act wisely in bringing this matter into prominence; that it is bad policy to precipitate a slumbering question; and that the result may be the loss of some wavering friends. I should be only too glad to take this view, if it were possible. But I cannot blink facts. The question is not sleeping; it has been definitely raised; and I should hold it culpable in any one in my position not to express, and express definitely, his opinion on the issues involved. It may be argued that the question is not immediate. I trust it is not. But when a man sees another loitering carelessly in the neighbourhood of a precipice, it is his plain duty to warn him off, though at the time there may be twenty or thirty yards between him and destruction. If while we are weighing the question of policy, he inadvertently goes a step too near and falls over, we are guilty of his blood. I dare not face the responsibility of such blood-guiltiness.

"But what do we mean by Disestablishment? Strictly speaking, there can be no such thing. As the Church existed before the State and was never established by it, the term is altogether out of place. But let this pass; for we are not engaged in a contest of words. The term may be taken to mean the severance of the connexion between the Church and State by a direct

legislative act of the State. If nothing more than this were involved in the proposed measure, it would be sufficient to dwell on the gravity of a step which on the part of the State involves the abandonment of the national recognition of Christianity. On the side of the Church again, we might be content to emphasize the advantages which she derives not only in the enlarged opportunities of usefulness which her recognised position gives her, but also in the wider sympathies which her contact with the life of the nation at all points engenders. But Disestablishment, as it has been formulated, implies very far more than this. **The only schemes which are before us involve a wholesale alienation of property, a disregard of personal and corporate rights, and a violation of all the most sacred associations and feelings, such as, in the words of an eminent living Statesman, would leave England 'a lacerated and bleeding mass.' Of any such scheme of Disestablishment I say deliberately, having carefully weighed these words, and feeling the tremendous responsibility of overstatement, that it would be not only a national disaster, but also a national crime, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of England since England became a nation. I believe that a moral blow would be inflicted on this country, under which it would reel and stagger for many generations to come, even if it ever recovered.** I do not say this as an alarmist. I have too much confidence in the justice and good sense, to say nothing of the religious feeling, of the English people, to believe that they could possibly lend themselves to such a scheme, if only they could see the principles underlying it and the issues involved in it. But the real danger is that they may be blind to its true character; that this question may be wrapped up with and smothered by other important questions; and that in a moment of surprise—for political surprise is always possible, even when a subject has been much talked over—the step may be hastily taken to be repented of at leisure. . . . .

"I invite not only all Churchmen, but all righteous men, whatever they may be, to read carefully the programme, and then to ask themselves how much or how little sincerity there is in the language which speaks of the 'pacifying and fortifying influence of complete spiritual freedom.' But I warn our adversaries that they will not, and cannot, succeed in crushing the Church. The gates of hell shall not prevail against her. The passionate love of her sons for the Church of England is a feeling quite beyond the comprehension of her enemies, and it would be intensified by cruelty and injustice. If they should even gain their point they will indeed most seriously maim and cripple her for spiritual purposes; but they will have done the very thing which they most dread—they will have raised up a political power of untold magnitude, with which henceforth they will have to reckon. The Church will be forced into this position in self-defence, after the bitter lesson she has had. But have not English Churchmen a right meanwhile to ask that those Statesmen, to whom they have hitherto looked up with a veneration which they could not relinquish without pain, should speak out plainly at this emergency—whatever may be their political alliances, and dissociate their name for ever from such schemes? Have they not a right, and is it not their duty, regardless of all Party ties, to ask those who seek to represent them in Parliament, and to press the question home, whether or not they intend to vote for Disestablishment, and what they mean by Disestablishment. . . . .

"But meanwhile what practical steps shall we take in the face of this agitation? I would answer, first of all, lift the question above the level of Party politics. From any point of view it is far more momentous than such considerations; and therefore respect for individuals and allegiance to Party must give way to it. . . . . Use every opportunity of diffusing correct information about the history and position of the Church; correct the wide-spread errors respecting her endowments; point out the work which she is doing and which she alone can do; and make them understand the wholesale desecration and unrighteousness which is contemplated under this vague term 'Disestablishment.' . . . .

"But there is another temptation against which I would entreat you to be on your guard. I am speaking now more especially to the clergy. We would gladly go about our own work quietly, but we are not suffered to do this. We are forced, despite of ourselves, into a position of controversy. But nothing is more perilous to true spirituality of mind, or more injurious to healthy evangelistic work, than the controversial temper. The sectarian spirit warps the mind and withers the heart. It might possibly give a flavour to your sermons and increase your congregations for a time; but assuredly it will never win a single soul to God. There is a taint in it, which you will shun as a deadly venom. If ever you find yourself in danger of being absorbed in the vortex of religious polemics, go into your secret chamber and fall on your knees before God and entreat Him to keep your heart straight, that, though you should be compelled to strive, you may nevertheless be saved from the spirit of strife.

"Lastly, let no menace of Disestablishment far or near daunt or deter you in any practical measures. There must be no relaxation of our efforts, because we cannot foresee their results. The issues are in God's hands, but meanwhile our duty is plain. We must go forward, as though this question had never been raised. The building and restoration of churches, the formation of new districts, the establishment of additional schools, the increase of our ministerial agencies, the perfection of our parochial machinery —must go on as actively as hitherto. This is the only temper which befits true soldiers of Christ—this attitude of faith; for this is 'the victory that overcometh the world.'

These are the deliberate words of the Bishop of Durham—words to be thought over, and carefully pondered and prayed over. I have no desire to add a single word—only I would ask you to join with me in the Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude's Day:

"O Almighty God, who hast built thy Church upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone; Grant us so to be joined together in unity of spirit by their doctrine, that we may be made an holy temple acceptable unto thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

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THE UNITY OF THE SECTS.

"The diversities of 'the Free Churches' are no bar to perfect brotherhood, they contribute a harmony which is both a beauty and a strength."—*British Quarterly Review* (Dissenting) Jan. 1881.

"It would be difficult to adduce just now a single serious controversy between them."—*Ibid.*

RELIGIOUS SECTS—PLACES OF WORSHIP

Places of meeting for religious worship in England and Wales have been certified to the Registrar General on behalf of persons described as follows:—

Advent Christians, The
Advents, The
Alethians.
Anglican Church.
Apostolics.
Arminian New Society.
Army of the King's Own.
Army of the Lord.
Baptists.
Baptized Believers.
Beith Hamedresh Misnah Society.
Believers in Christ.
Believers in the Divine Visitation of Joanna Southcote, Prophetess of Exeter.
Believers meeting in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.
Benevolent Methodists.
Bethesda Mission.
Bible Christians.
Bible Defence Association.
Blackburn Psychological Society.
Blue Ribbon Gospel Army.
Brethren.
British Israelites.
British and Foreign Sailors
Bunyan Baptists.
Calvinistic Baptists.
Calvinistic Independents.
Calvinists and Welsh Calvinists.
Canonbury Hall Mission.
Catholic Apostolic Church
Catholics of Newport.
Chevra Torah Society
Children of God.
Children's Special Service Association.
Christadelphians.
Christians owning no name but the Lord Jesus
Christians who object to be otherwise designated.
Christian Army.
Christian Believers.
Christian Brethren.
Christian Disciples.
Christian Eliasites.
Christian Evangelists.
Christian Israelites.
Christian Lay Church

Christian Mission.
Christian Pioneers.
Christian Soldiers.
Christian Teetotalers.
Christian Temperance Men.
Christian Unionists.
Christian Workers.
Christian Zōce Perissos Society.
Christians.
Church of Christ.
Church of England.
Church of England (unattached).
Church of Islam.
Church of Scotland.
Church of the People
Church of Progress.
Congregation of the Son of the Covenant.
Congregational Baptists.
Congregational Temperance Free Church.
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.
Covenanters.
Coventry Mission Band.
Crusade Mission Army.
Danish Lutherans.
Deaf and Dumb Mission.
Dependents.
Disciples in Christ.
Disciples of Jesus Christ.
Eastern Orthodox Greek Church.
Ecclesia of the Messiah.
Eclectics.
Episcopalian Dissenters
Ethical Society.
Evangelical Free Church.
Evangelical Mission.
Evangelical Unionists.
Evangelists.
Exeter Free Spiritual Research Society.
Followers of the Lords Jesus Christ.
Free Catholic Christian Church.
Free Christian Association.
Free Christians.
Free Church.
Free Church (Episcopal).
Free Church of England.
Free Evangelical Christians.
Free Grace Gospel Christians.
Free Gospel and Christian Brethren.
Free Gospel Church.
Free Gospellers.
Free Methodists.
Free Salvation Army.
Free Union Church.
French Protestants.
French Reformed Church.
Full Salvationists.
General Baptist.
General Baptist New Connexion.
German Evangelical Community.
German Lutherans.
German Reformed Congregation.
German Roman Catholics.
German Wesleyans.
Glassites.
Glazebrook Army.
Glory Band.
God's Own and Christian Worshippers.
Gospel Army Mission.
Gospel Band.
Gospel Lifeboat Missioners.
Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Army.
Gospel Unionists.
Greek Catholic.
Grimsby Faith Union
Hackney Juvenile Mission.
Halifax Psychological Society.
Hallelujah Band.
Hebrews.
Holiness Army.
Hope Mission.
Hosanna Army.
Humanitarians.
Independents.
Independent Church of England.
Independent Order of Good Templars.
Independent Methodists.
Independent Religious Reformers.
Independent Unionists.
Inghamites.
Israel, New and Latter House of.
Israelites.
Jews.
Jews who believe in Jesus Christ as Messiah and Saviour.
King Jesus' Army.
Latter Day Saints.
Latter Day Saints (Anti-Polygamy).
Lay Christians.
Lodging House Mission Association.
London City Mission.
Loving Brethren.
Lutherans.
Methodist Army.
Methodist Reform Union.
Missionaries.
Mission Army.
Mission of Love.
Modern Methodists.
Moravians.
Mormons.
Moslems.
Nazarenes.
Newcastle Sailors' Society.
New Church.
New Connexion General Baptists.
New Connexion Wesleyans.
New Hebrew Congregation.

New Jerusalem Church.
New Methodists.
New Spiritual Church.
Old Baptists.
Open Baptists.
Open Brethren.
Open Plymouth Brethren.
Orthodox Eastern Church.
Orthodox Jews.
Particular Baptists.
Peculiar People.
Pentecostal Mission.
People's Gospel Mission.
Pilgrim Band.
Plymouth Brethren.
Polish Jews.
Political Society.
Portsmouth Mission.
Positivists.
Presbyterian Church in England.
Presbyterian Church of Scotland.
Presbyterian Baptists.
Primitive Congregation.
Primitive Free Church.
Primitive Methodists.
Progressionists.
Protestant Members of the Church of England.
Protestants adhering to Articles 1 to 18, but rejecting Ritual.
Protestant Trinitarians
Protestant Union
Providence.
Psalms of David Society.
Quakers.
Railway Mission.
Ranters.
Rational Christians.
Recreative Religionists.
Red Ribbon Army.
Redeemed Army.
Reformers.
Reformed Church of England.
Reformed Episcopal Church.
Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters.
Reform Free Church Wesleyan Methodists.
Refuge Methodists.
Rescue and Evangelization Mission.
Revivalists.
Revival Band.
Rock Mission.
Roman Catholics.
Royal Gospel Army Saints.
Salem Society.
Salvation Army.
Salvation Navy
Sandemanians.
Scotch Baptists.
Seamen.
Second Advent Brethren.
Secularists.
Separatists (Protestant).
Seventh Day Baptists.
Sheffield Highway Mission.
Society of the New Church.
Society for Visiting the Sick.
Spiritual Church.
Spiritual Investigation Society.
Spiritualists.
Strict Baptists.
Stockton Hebrew Congregation.
Strictly Undenominational.
Swedenborgians.
Temperance Methodists.
Testimony Congregational Church.
Theistic Church.
Trinitarians.
True Spiritual Worshippers.
Union Baptists.
Union Churchmen.
Union Congregationalists.
Union Free Church.
Unionists.
Unitarians.
Unitarian Baptists.
Unitarian Christians.
United Brethren or Moravians.
United Christian Army.
United Christian Church.
United Evangelical Church of Germany.
United Free Methodist Church.
United Presbyterians.
Universal Christians.
Unsectarian.
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.
Welsh Free Presbyterians.
Welsh Wesleyan Methodists.
Wesleyans.
Wesleyan-Methodist Association.
Wesleyan Reformers.
Wesleyan Reform Glory Band.
White Ribon Gospel Army.
Wiggin's Evangelistic Mission.
Woman's Mission.
Working Man's Evangelistic Mission Chapels.
Worshippers of God.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Young Women's Christian Association.
(268 in all.)

A brief reference to the origin and present condition of some of the above sects will be interesting to many.

The *Independents* were the first Dissenters from the Established Church. They began in 1568 under Robert Browne, their founder, the chief question in dispute being one of "Church Polity." The Congregational Union of England and Wales was established in 1833. Its first rule recognises as "the distinctive principle of Congregational Churches the scriptural right of every separate church to maintain perfect independence in the government and administration of its own affairs." The subdivison of Dissent here reaches its perfection. Every congregation is a separate and independent "church." If we mistake not, Mr. J. A. Picton, an avowed Positivist, still calls himself a "Congregationalist."

The first *Baptist* congregation was formed in England in 1633. It was an offshoot rom the Independents. The Baptists have since, from various causes, become sub-divided in England into many minor sects, those mentioned in the above list are as follow :—

Baptists.
Calvinistic Baptists.
Congregational Baptists.
General Baptists New Connexion.
New Connexion General Baptists.
Old Baptists.
Open Baptists.
Particular Baptists.
Presbyterian Baptists.
Scotch Baptists.
Seventh Day Baptists.
Strict Baptists.
Union Baptists.
Unitarian Baptists.

The Wesleyans separated from the Church and formed themselves into a distinct body in 1795, four years after the death of their founder, John Wesley. The first secession took place two years after, in 1797, when the Methodist New Connexion came into existence. The original body is now divided into the following different sects, each with its own place of worship duly certified to the Registrar-General :—

Wesleyans.
Benevolent Methodists.
Bible Christians.
Free Methodists.
German Wesleyans.
Independent Methodists.
Methodist Reform Union.
Modern Methodists.
New Connexion Wesleyans.
New Methodists.
Primitive Methodists.
Refuge Methodists.
Reform Free Church Wesleyan Methodists.
Temperance Methodists.
United Free Methodist Church.
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.
Welsh Wesleyan Methodists.
Wesleyan Methodist Association.
Wesleyan Reformers.
Wesleyan Glory Band

The *Socinians* were founded by Socinus, an Italian, about the year 1579. The first *Unitarian* congregation established in England dates from the early part of the eighteenth century.

The Society of Friends, or *Quakers*, dates its origin from 1644. It was founded by George Fox, who, disagreeing both with the Church and the Dissent of his time, sought out for himself a new way. The sect at present is a small and diminishing one.

We hear much nowadays about divisions in the Church. Whatever difference in minor matters may exist amongst Churchmen, they in the main agree upon the fundamental questions of the Faith, and the Church herself in her Creeds and formularies bears open witness to the foundation truths of Christianity. How is it with the various sects of Nonconformity? An answer to this question is ably given in "England, Rome, and the Sects," published by the Rev. John Watson, Incumbent of Hanley. He says:

"I am in search, we will suppose, of the truth of God. When I go to these Societies and ask them what they have to teach me, what is their answer? What have they to teach me about God's truth? What have they to tell me about the Being of God? Is there a Blessed Trinity before whom I must fall down and worship? 'There is,' say some. 'Not so,' cry others, 'God is but one.' 'What must I think of my Saviour?' I aks. 'Is He God or is He merely human?' 'He is God,' teach some. 'It is false,' says the Unitarian. 'Is the Bible God's Word or man's?' English Sectarians say the one, German Sectarians say the other. 'Is there cleansing in the Blood of Jesus?' I ask. 'It is a precious truth,' says the Wesleyan. 'It is an immoral figment,' says the Socinian. 'Did the Death of Jesus Christ avail for the Redemption of the world, or only for an elect few?' 'For all,' cry some of the sects; 'For the elect,' cry others. 'May I bring my child to Holy Baptism?' 'Certainly,' say some; 'Not so,' says the Baptist, 'it is a

mischievous, unscriptural formality.' 'Is the punishment of the wicked for ever, or only for a time?' 'For ever,' say some. 'For a time,' say the Christadelphians. 'Are there any Sacraments binding on Christians to-day?' The Quaker says 'No;' other sects say 'Yes.' And so the Babel goes on! There seems no single truth, except the Being of God, upon which these communities are in absolute agreement."

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THE BISHOP OF OXFORD

ON THE

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION.

"You may remember that when, eight years ago, a Disestablishment attack seemed imminent, and the Church Defence Institution set to work in earnest to promote defensive work, the Church, both as a spiritual body and as a national institution, was assailed on the sides of projected attack and projected reconstruction. Sound teaching on both these phases was started and with good effect, and both by the circulation of papers and by the agency of illustrated lectures, great efforts were and have been since continuously made to bring before all classes of our people the truth of the History of our Church. The lines on which this defence is conducted are excellent, and under other circumstances I might almost be inclined to throw myself on the materials that that Organization furnishes; but it appears to me now most necessary that we should review and realise the situation, each Clergyman, each Christian Englishman for himself, and renew and refresh his knowledge of the arguments on which so much depends."—*Bishop of Oxford's Charge*, 1893.

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No. 165.

REVENUES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE important return, moved for by the late Lord Addington, when Mr. Hubbard, in 1887, a summary of which is given on pages 4-6, is well deserving of careful study by all who wish honestly to understand the position of the Church. The summary credits the Church with an income of £5,753,557, and this, as is made clear by an answer of the Home Secretary's in the House of Commons (though indeed an examination of the return would have supplied the same information) does not include receipts from fees, pew-rents, Easter and other offerings. What the aggregate of these may be is difficult to say. In the great majority of the churches pew-rents are unknown; in the rural districts fees and offerings will necessarily be small; but in certain town churches not being parish churches the pew-rents are unquestionably considerable, and in these, as in some of the more important parish churches, the fees make up an important annual sum. Lord Selborne, who has investigated the question very thoroughly, calculates that the sum derived from these two sources cannot exceed £282,000 per annum, and in the absence of any official estimate this is, perhaps, as accurate a conjecture as can be made. We would, however, warn our readers against the hasty assumption that in this way the income of certain incumbents is swelled to an excessive amount. Rather should it be remembered that the churches with large congregations and considerable "surplice" duty are just those which require

a staff to work them, and that the payment of such staff not infrequently leaves a very small balance indeed for the holder of the reputed "fat" living. What the clergy give back to the Church, as well as what they bring in to it, might in truth furnish a supplementary return of a very interesting character were it possible to arrive at any approximate idea of the respective amounts. The result would undoubtedly astonish those who are imbued with the honest, though mistaken, belief that the beneficed clergy are a body of men who live in luxury upon the pious liberality of past generations of Churchmen.

But putting these considerations aside for the moment, are we right in assuming the gross income enjoyed by the clergy from every source is £6,000,000 a year? By no means. It is now understood, even by those who would fain have believed otherwise, that from this sum a very large deduction must be made at the present time. The tithe rent-charges appropriated to ecclesiastical benefices, which make up more than one-third of the total, are set down at £2,628,000, but this, it appears, is a purely nominal sum. It would be the amount if the tithe rent-charge were at par value, but seeing that tithe now stands at 24 per cent. below par, we must reduce the amount by nearly one-fourth, or £650,000, which will bring the gross income down to £5,350,000. This, then, is the corrected estimate of the gross revenues of the Church. We will not at this time stay to consider what further deductions for poor rates and highway rates—in respect of which, as is well known, the tithe-owning clergy are assessed very highly—ought to be made before we arrive at the income which the Clergy really receive, but pass on to observe the form in which this return is presented.

The revenue is divided between what are called Ancient Endowments and Private Benefactions since 1703. We regret that any distinction of this kind was made. There is no difference at all between the character of the ancient and modern endowments. The Church's right to the one is as real and well-established as is its right to the other.

We regret the distinction on principle, and we regret it because the division at 1703, selected, as it is understood, on

the ground that in that year Queen Anne's Bounty was established, has already given rise to much misconception and misrepresentation. All endowments provided since 1703 are called "Private Benefactions," as if the great bulk of the older endowments were not "Private Benefactions." That is our first objection. Our second is that 1703 was an unfortunate date to select. It is thrown in our teeth that for nearly 200 years Churchmen have only increased their endowments by contributions producing £284,000 per annum. This is strictly correct. What is the answer to it? Probably if 1603 had been substituted for 1703 the result would have been the same. Increased endowments were little needed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The population increased but slowly, and it must be confessed that no adequate effort was made to provide for increased requirements. The Church did not awake to her responsibilities to the people until this nineteenth century had well begun, and then with the population advancing by leaps and bounds, the struggle to keep pace and to make up leeway was intense and not altogether successful. One answer, then, to the taunt levelled at us is that five-sixths of the "Private Benefactions" which we are credited with adding to the Church's revenues since 1703, were really contributed since 1836, when the Ecclesiastical Commission was constituted; the other answer is, and to our mind it is even more satisfactory, that while better administration of existing funds has secured provision, directly or indirectly, for the large additions made to the staff of clergy, it has never been the desire of modern Churchmen to find large incomes for the clergy. The liberality of Churchmen has been shown in other directions, and while we can point to £50,000,000 expended during the last fifty years in churchbuilding and restoration, £34,000,000 spent on the education of the poor since 1811, £25,000,000 at least on home and foreign missions since 1850, to say nothing of gifts to the general charities of the country, we need not be much concerned by the taunt that we only happen to have sunk £8,000,000 in additional Church endowment.

The following is the summary of the Return issued by order of the House of Commons at the end of July, 1891:—

	Gross Income of Property derived from	
	Ancient Endowments.	Private Benefactions since 1703.
I.—Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees. (Including the newly-founded Sees.)	£	£
Lands	61,508	—
Tithe Rent-charges	21,103	400
Houses	1,583	—
Manors	73	—
Miscellaneous Receipts	694	90
Dividends and Interest	2.866	10,591
	£87,827	£11,081
Residences—Rateable value £11,151		
Note.—Only 14 Sees have been re-endowed with real estates, the estates of the others (excluding Sodor and Man) are vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who pay the statutory incomes out of their Common Fund.		
II.—Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.		
Lands	98,027	—
Tithe Rent-charges	44,384	—
Houses and Ground Rents	34,586	—
Minerals	903	—
Manors	2,475	—
Rents reserved under Beneficial Leases ...	1,612	—
Dividends and Interest	10,473	—
	£192,460	—
Residence Houses—Rateable value £18,928		
Note.—Only 16 Chapters are now in possession of estates from which the incomes of the deans and canons are wholly derived. Those of the others have been transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in exchange for annual payments, and the income therefrom is included in the rental, &c., shown in Part 4.		

	Gross Income of Property derived from	
	Ancient Endowments.	Private Benefactions since 1703.
III.—Ecclesiastical Benefices.		
Number, 13,979	£	£
Lands	948,003	43,209
Tithe Rent-charges, Corn Rents, &c. ...	2,592,281	36,593
Houses and Ground Rents	109,869	21,580
Mineral Wayleaves, &c.	5,111	—
Manors	1,177	—
Ecclesiastical Commissioners : *		
Payments, &c., in respect of Benefactions	—	60,882
Dividends on Trust Stocks	60,541	—
Queen Anne's Bounty :		
Payments in respect of Grants ...	48,271	—
Payments in respect of Benefactions ...	—	43,453
Dividends on Stocks	42,075	—
Dividends on Government Stocks	28,813	18,461
Dividends on other Securities	9,905	18,754
Ancient Stipends, Rent-charges on Estates, and Receipts not otherwise defined ...	95,011	29,673
	£3,941,057	£272,605
Parsonage Houses—Number 11,667		
Rateable value ... £518,054		

(More than two-thirds of the cost of the Parsonage Houses may be regarded as derived from private benefactions and from the payments of the clergy out of their incomes.)

**Note.*—The annual payments made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to Incumbents, in respect of Augmentation Grants from their Common Fund (£597,000), are not shown here, as they form a portion of the charge of £950,000 upon the Property of the Commissioners, *see* Part 4.

	Gross Income of Property derived from	
	Ancient Endowments.	Private Benefactions since 1703.
IV.—Ecclesiastical Commissioners:		
	£	
Lands	219,660	
Tithe Rent-charges, Corn Rents, &c. ...	273,591	
Houses and Ground Rents	337,805	
Minerals	263,841	
Manors	18,146	
Rents reserved under Beneficial Leases ...	18,493	
Fee-farm and other fixed Rents, redeemed Land Tax, &c.	8,549	
Timber and Miscellaneous Receipts ...	8,577	
Dividends on Government Stocks and Interest on Mortgage and other Securities	99,165	
The Income of the Common Fund, shown above, after deducting the outgoings in respect thereof, is subject to permament Charges in favour of Bishops, Chapters, Archdeacons, and Incumbents of Benefices amounting, with other liabilities, to upwards of £950,000 per annum.	£1,247,827	
V.—Queen Anne's Bounty:		
Rent of Lands ... ... (say)		
The Capital held by the Corporation on behalf of Benefices is ... £4,456,124	—	£700
The Dividends, Interest, &c., payable in respect thereof to the Incumbents of Benefices are included in Part 3.		

AGGREGATE SUMMARY OF REVENUES.

	£	£
I.—Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees	87,827	11,081
II.—Cathedral and Collegiate Churches	192,480	—
III.—Ecclesiastical Benefices ...	3,941,017	272,605
IV.—Ecclesiastical Commissioners ...	1,247,827	—
V.—Queen Anne's Bounty	—	700
Total Gross Income	£5,469,171	£284,386

DATES IN ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

"Places inaccessible to the Romans are subdued to CHRIST."
TERTULLIAN, A. D. 190.

"Britain holds the religion of CHRIST."—ORIGEN, A.D. 240.

"The study of history is an excellent cordial for drooping courage."
BISHOP LIGHTFOOT, A.D. 1879.

Century	Date	Events, &c.
III.	296	Alban martyred at Verulam, now called St. Albans.
IV.	314	Council of Arles. Three British bishops attended with a priest and deacon as chaplains.
V.	449	Arrival of the Saxons.
,,	487	Dubricius Archbishop of Caerleon
VI.	587	The Heptarchy. Britain divided into seven kingdoms.
,,	596	Augustine sent from Rome.
VII.	601	Augustine first Archbishop of Canterbury.
,,	664	Council of Whitby. England christianised by British clergy.
,,	680	First reform under Theodore. Parochial system of the Church.
VIII.	725	The Ven. Bede writes his ecclessiastical history.
IX.	827	Egbert, King of all England, adopts Church's parochial system for the civil purposes of the kingdom.
,,	871	King Alfred takes the Ten Commandments as the basis of English law.
,,	960	Dunstan Archbishop.
XI.	1042	Edward the Confessor, founder of Westminster Abbey.
,,	1066	William the Conqueror.
,,	1093	Archbishop Anselm.
XII.	1162	Archbishop Thomas À Becket.
,,	1164	Constitutions of Clarendon.
,,	1189	Richard I. Immemorial custom, basis of the "Common Law."
XIII.	1207	Archbishop Stephen Langton.
,,	,,	Franciscan Order founded.
,,	1215	Magna Charta (first signature Stephen Langton, Archbishop as representing the "Army of the Church") guarantees that the Church of England shall be free and have her rights entire and liberties uninjured.
,,	1216	Dominican Order founded.
,,	1253	Grostête, Bishop of Lincoln, champion of the Church of England.
,,	1257	Cambridge University founded.
,,	1279	Statute of Mortmain, to restrain transfer of land to the Church by will.
XIV.	1345	Statute of Provisors, to restrain the Pope's patronage to English benefices.
,,	1353	First Statute of Præmunire, to restrain English Ecclesiastics from acting under Papal authority.
,,	1256	Wicliff flourished.
,,	1393	The Great Statute of præmunire.

Century	Date	Events, &c.
XV.	1476	Introduction of Printing by Caxton.
XVI.	1503	Archbishop Warham.
„	1510	Henry VIII. married Catherine of Aragon.
„	1521	Henry VIII. wrote against Luther.
„	1530	Cranmer favours the Divorce.
„	„	Cardinal Wolsey died.
„	1532	Act restraining Appeals to Rome.
„	1533	Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
„	1534	Act of Succession passed. Papal supremacy abjured by English Clergy. Payment of Annates (first fruits) to Rome forbidden.
„	„	Act of "Submission of the Clergy" passed.
„	„	Act for "Election of Bishops" passed.
„	1535	Tyndale's New Testament circulated.
„	„	First visitation of monasteries.
„	1536	Coverdale's Bible.
„	„	Act for Suppression of Smaller Monasteries.
„	1537	Another visitation of Monasteries.
„	1538	Henry VIII. excommunicated by a Bull of Paul III.
„	1539	Cranmer's Great Bible published. Final dissolution of Monasteries.
„	„	Order of Jesuits sanctioned by the Pope.
„	1541	Four new bishoprics endowed—Bristol, Oxford, Chester, and Peterborough.
„	1544	The English Litany, compiled from older Litanies, published.
„	1545	An Act passed granting "Colleges, Chantries," &c., to the king.
„	1548	First Communion Office published.
„	1549	Edward VI. 1st Prayer Book.
„	1552	Edward VI. 2nd Prayer Book.
„	1553	Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others imprisoned.
„	1555	(Paul IV., Pope.) Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford.
„	1558	Elizabeth succeeds to the throne.
„	1559	Act of Uniformity passed.
„	„	Religion as in Edward VI.'s reign restored.
„	„	Archbishop Parker consecrated.
„	1563	XXXIX. Articles.
„	1565	The Puritans.
„	1568	First Independent Congregation in London.
„	1570	Romanists leave the Church of England and become a sect.
„	1571	First Poor Law, the necessary consequence of the suppression of Religious Houses.
„	1572	Robt. Browne founds Congregationalism.
„	1581	Browne returns to Church of England and accepts the living of Achurch, Northants.
„	1588	Spanish Armada sent by the Pope against England
XVII.	1604	Hampton Court Conference.
„	1605	Gunpowder plot; Conspiracy to blow up Houses of Parliament.
„	1633	First Baptist congregation in England
„	1641	Episcopacy suspended. "Root and Branch" Act.
„	1645	Archbp. Laud beheaded. Prayer Book forbidden under penalties. Geo. Fox founds the sect of Quakers.
„	1649	Charles I. beheaded.

Century	Date	Events, &c.
XVII.	1649	Eight thousand Clergy of the Church of England turned out of their livings, which were occupied by Nonconformists, who received the Church tithes.
,,	1653	Oliver Cromwell, Protector.
,,	1655	Use of the Prayer Book, even in private houses, forbidden by act of Parliament.
,,	1658	An "Independent" Establishment of religion attempted.
,,	1660	Charles II. restored. 1,400 Nonconformists resign Church of England benefices.
,,	1661	Last review of the Prayer Book.
,,	1662	Act of Uniformity. Book of Common Prayer publicly used.
,,	1685	James II. attempts to introduce Roman Catholicism.
,,	1688	The Archbishop of Canterbury and six Bishops imprisoned and acquitted. Throne barred to Roman Catholics. Flight of James II.
,,	1698	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded.
XVIII.	1701	Act of Settlement passed.
,,	,,	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts founded.
,,	1704	Queen Anne restores to the Church tenths and first-fruits, which Henry VIII. had appropriated to his own uses.
,,	1707	Union of England and Scotland.
,,	,,	The Unitarians become a distinct denomination.
,,	1717	Convocation suppressed until 1851.
,,	1723	George I.'s Regium Donum to Dissenters.
,,	1731	Rise of Methodism.
XIX.	1800	Church Missionary Society formed.
,,	1801	Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
,,	1804	British and Foreign Bible Society established.
,,	1811	National Society for the Education of the Children of the Poor founded.
,,	1836	Ecclesiastical Commission incorporated.
,,	,,	Pluralities abolished.
,,	1837	Tithe Commutation Act. Tithe no longer paid in kind.
,,	1837	Accession of Queen Victoria.
,,	1838	Coronation of the Queen in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop (Howley) of Canterbury.
,,	1844	The Anti-State Church Society, now called the Liberation Society, founded for disestablishing and disendowing the Church.
,,	,,	Dissenters' Chapel Act.
,,	1845	Mr. Gladstone resigned office on the Maynooth Grant.
,,	1847	Welsh protest against the amalgamation of St. Asaph and Bangor Dioceses.
,,	,,	Formation of Diocese of Manchester.
,,	1850	Papal bull created Roman Catholic Episcopate in England.
,,	1851	Ecclesiastical Titles Act (repealed 1871).
,,	,,	Roman Catholic Episcopate first introduced into England.
,,	,,	Convocation restored.
,,	1856	Motion for disestablishing Church of Ireland rejected by the House of Commons (163 to 93).
,,	1858	Jewish Disabilities removed.
,,	1859	Elementary Education Commission appointed.

Century	Date	Events, &c.
XIX.	1860	The Church Defence Institution founded by Mr. Henry Hoare for uniting Clergy and Laity in defence of the Church.
,,	1861	First Church Congress held at Cambridge.
,,	,,	Church Rates Abolition Bill rejected by House of Commons by casting vote of Speaker.
,,	1864	First Diocesan Conference held at Ely.
,,	1867	First Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth, 76 Bishops present.
,,	1868	Church Rates abolished
,,	1869	Irish Church Disestablished and Disendowed
,,	1870	Elementary Education Act passed.
,,	,,	Dr. Mackenzie consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham.
,,	1871	University Tests Abolition Act.
,,	,,	Attack on the English Church in Parliament defeated (374 to 89).
,,	1872	Public Thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral for the recovery of the Prince of Wales.
,,	1873	Second Attack on English Church defeated (356 to 61).
,,	1877	Formation of Diocese of Truro.
,,	1878	Second Pan-Anglican Conference held at Lambeth Palace (100 Bishops present).
	,,	Bishoprics Bill, for the Creation of the Sees of Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield passed into law.
,,	,,	Formation of Diocese of St. Albans.
,,	1880	Burial Laws Amendment Act.
,,	,,	Foundation stone of Truro Cathedral laid by Prince of Wales.
,,	,,	Formation of Diocese of Liverpool.
,,	1881	Publication of Revised Version of New Testament.
,,	1882	Formation of Diocese of Newcastle.
,,	1883	Edward White, 93rd Archbishop of Canterbury.
,,	1884	Centenary of American Episcopate.
,,	,,	Bishopric of Bristol Act.
,,	1885	Publication of Revised Version of Old Testament
,,	1886	Formation of Diocese of Southwell.
,,	,,	House of Laymen met for first time.
,,	1887	Public thanksgiving in Westminster Abbey for Her Majesty's fifty years reign.
,,	,,	Consecration of Truro Cathedral.
,,	1888	Formation of Diocese of Wakefield.
,,	,,	Third Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth, 145 Bishops present
,,	1889	Attack on Church in Wales in House of Commons, defeated (284 to 231).
	1891	Tithe Rent-Charge Recovery Bill passed into law.
	,,	Free Education Act.
,,	1892	Clergy Discipline Act.
,,	1893	Great Representative gathering of Churchmen in the Albert Hall in defence of the Church in Wales (May 16th).

Printed and Published by NICHOLS and SONS, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE WORK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Attention is called to the following facts and figures :—

(a) Voluntary Expenditure on Schools and Training Colleges :—

Schools :	1811-1870.	1870-1893.	Total.
Buildings	£6,270,577	£7,125,402	£13,395,979
Maintenance	£8,500,000	£14,501,460	£23,001,460
Training Colleges :			
Buildings	£194,085	£94,810	£288,895
Maintenance	£185,276	£327,391	£512,667
	£15,149,938	£22,049,063	£37,199,001

(b) Church Building and Restoration (Sums over £500) :—

Lord Hampden's Return 1840-1873	£25,548,703
Duke of Westminster's Return 1874-1891	£20,531,402
	£46,080,105

[It has been computed that if sums under £500 had been included, the aggregate amount for the 51 years would be £60,000,000.]

(c) Parsonage Houses, Burial Grounds, Endowment of Benefices, and Church Building for 1892-3:—

Expenditure in 1892-3 :

Parsonage Houses	£94,447	
Endowment of Benefices	£179,913	
Burial Grounds	£29,436	
Church Building and Restoration	£1,144,686	
		£1,448,482

d) Hospital Sunday, 1893, &c. :—

(1.) Metropolitan:

	1893.		1872-1893.	
	Collections.	Amount.	Collections.	Amount.
Church of England	1,004	£28,003	16,963	£506,626
All others	721	£7,602	12,072	£153,075
Totals	1,725	£35,605	29,035	£659,701

(2.) Provincial (41 large towns and suburbs) 1893 :—

	Collections.	Amount.
Church of England	2,415	£20,470
All others	1,639	£11,630

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No. 169.

MEN OF WALES!

THE Church in Wales is the Church of the poor. To disestablish and disendow it would be to rob the poor, and God.

Listen to the burning words of the venerable scholar and preacher, Dr. Vaughan, of Llandaff, and stay as he implores you before you let any one trample on the Old Church, and scatter to the winds the old endowments:—

"Vested interests of individuals are safe till a revolution comes—but are there no vested interests of congregations? Has a Church that has held for ages, by unquestioned legal right, the possession of buildings for its worship and incomes for its ministers, no vested right to be recognised when a sudden change sweeps over the politics of the country?"

It is your interests, you see, and not the interests of the Clergy, which are threatened.

Protect your Church, protect your children's rights, protect the rights of all who want a resident minister and cannot afford to pay for him. Honour God, and support no man who favours Disestablishment and Disendowment.

Printed by Nichols and Sons, 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.

A Disestablishment Bill for Wales.

What does it mean?

Every Voter in England and Wales ought to ask himself this question.

LET ME HELP YOU TO ANSWER.

For hundreds of years there has been a provision in every parish for Religious Worship, at which all can claim to attend.

This was begun very long ago, when one here and another there determined that his family and neighbours should have a church to meet in for prayer and praise, and a minister to instruct them.

This provision has been growing more general and more useful year after year.

As the population has increased, new churches have been built, new funds collected, and old funds more equally divided.

In Wales the Church has always been poor and struggling, but it is nevertheless full of life, of hope, and good works.

The average income of a Welsh Rector or Vicar is less than £200 a-year.

By the Bill which the Government has brought in, it is sought, when the present Clergymen are dead or have resigned, to take away this money, which is doing so much good, and hand it over to a small committee to use for some other purpose, but not for religion.

You must not let this be. It is not right. The property was given for God's service, and so it belongs to God. And if you let it be taken away, you will be robbing your children of it. They have just as much right to it as you have, or as your fathers had.

Do not make any mistake. We cannot rightly part with this heritage, for it is not ours. We are only trustees for God, our children, and our country. Therefore do not vote for anyone who declares he will support this Bill in Parliament. If you speak out we shall hear no more about it.

Printed and Published by Nichols and Sons, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

SOME PLAIN THOUGHTS for PLAIN THINKING PEOPLE.

Who pays for the Church?

1. *Not the Taxpayers:* for not one penny of the Taxes goes to support the Church.

2. *Not the Ratepayers:* for not one penny of the Rates goes to support the Church.

3. *Not the Poor:* for not one penny of the working man's wages is taken for the support of the Church.

The Church is supported by money derived from the gifts of her sons and daughters in the present day and in days gone by: the Tithes were originally given by the owner of the land many hundred of years ago, and have been acknowledged as the property of the Church by succeeding generations ever since.

Who Established the Church in England?

1. *Not the Crown:* for the Church is 800 years older than Parliament, having taken root when England was divided in several different little Kingdoms.

2. *Not the Parliament:* for the Church was begun in England when the Gospel was preached about 100 years after the Crucifixion; while Parliament was first held in a room lent by the Church for that purpose in the year 1295.

What is meant by "Established" is that the Church is secured in her position and property, and protected therein by the law of the land.

Did England force her Church on Wales?

No: for when the heathen (Saxons and Danes) drove the Christians out of England, they took refuge with Christians in Wales, and when a fresh Mission had converted the invaders, a friendly intercourse was gradually established between the two, which eventually blended them into one Church and one nation.

Who Endowed the Church?

All Church property has come from the gifts of Church people. They have been spending on the building and restoration of Churches more than £1,000,000 a year for the last 50 years. They have also been the largest supporters of Hospitals, Refuges, Homes, and such like institutions. It is true that Parliament has made grants to the Church to the amount of £2,600,000. These are but as drops in the bucket in comparison with the free offerings of Churchmen. Parliament has also made grants to Dissenters amounting in all to £3,052,169, or £452,196 more than to the Church.

Who has provided for the Education of the Poor?

For centuries the Church provided by far the largest share of the funds spent on National Education. Between the years 1811 and 1894 over thirteen millions sterling was voluntarily given by Church people for building schools; while twenty-two millions more was spent by them during the same period on the maintenance of the schools; the whole amounting to thirty-five millions.

Who has provided free Houses of Prayer?

In her Houses of Prayer the Church provides *free* accommodation for the poor; and a resident minister of the Gospel in every parish for rich and poor alike. Moreover the Church teaches to those who have means the Christian duty of helping the poor; and the good deeds of Church people must go to the credit of the Church.

The Church is a bulwark against sin and crime. To injure her is to injure the cause of Religion and Morality. No thinking man would wish to do this.

If the Church in England and in Wales were disestablished and disendowed, it is hard to see what the poor would gain, but it is not hard to see what they would lose. They of all people should strenuously resist Disestablishment as robbing them of their birthright and giving nothing in exchange.

Printed and Published by W. I. Richardson, 4 and 5, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C

How a Bishop spends his Income.

The following appeared in the *Bristol Daily Press* of May 14, 1894:—

Many of your readers have doubtless read the very straightforward statement as to his means and manner of life which the Bishop of Manchester lately addressed to a working man, who had taunted him with the size of his income. With your permission I should like to quote the words of another Bishop, well known both in London and the north of England, but whose name I am not at liberty to mention, on the same subject, which have not, I think, seen the light before. The Bishop says:—

"At the last General Election certain friends of mine, who went about canvassing (I won't say for which side), heard a good many strong things said about the incomes of the bishops. They were paid out of the taxes of the people, which was disgraceful. They ought to be divided up among the poor, which would at any rate do some good. They helped the bishops to live in luxury and idleness.

Now, of course, it is only the ignorant who fancy bishops or clergy are paid out of rates or taxes. Not one penny of rates or taxes goes to any bishop or any parish clergyman. They are paid partly out of gifts in the shape of tithe or land in very ancient times, and partly by more modern, and purely voluntary gift. Now I am a bishop (which I suppose is not much in my favour), and I have done a sum in division, by which I find that if my income were divided up among the people of my diocese it would give them exactly one penny per head per annum. As to luxury and idleness there may be differences of opinion, but I am not fond of either myself, and I think a bishop who uses his income for idle self-indulgence is a disgrace to his order and a scandal to the Church. I am thankful to say I do not myself know such an one. I can't help thinking, however, that it may correct some false notions if I try to give some idea of how a bishop's income is really spent, and as I am not going to give my name I may take my own case as a fair sample. Well, my income as bishop is £3,000 a year. Now the first thing I did when I was

appointed to the bishopric was to dedicate one thousand a year to be given away in actual money, and then to make a resolve that no one connected with me should be any the better off by my having this income. I have children, but they will get nothing through my being a bishop when I die. I could not do this if it had not been that my father, who worked hard all his life at his calling, left me pretty well off. I should not blame a bishop who out of his episcopal income made some modest provision (by insuring his life, for instance) for his family; only I had no need to do so. But what of the rest of the income? Well, a bishop has to be always travelling about his diocese, going almost daily to this parish and that, and that costs a good deal. A bishop has to be receiving in his house all his candidates for ordination for four or five days at a time four times a year, and that is not done for nothing. It is true a bishop must keep a carriage, if he is to do all the work looked for in these days; but he very seldom uses it for pleasure. It is true he must have a larger house and more servants than many people, but he does not do this because he likes it (I should be much more comfortable in a smaller house, and with two or three maids), but because he must be always ready to receive his clergy, and to make his house useful for others. I can honestly say that far the greater part of my income, after putting aside the thousand a year for giving away in cash, is spent, not on self, but in the exercise of my office. I think bishops should try to live simple, unostentatious lives. They mostly do in these days. But I am quite sure of one thing, and that is that no other incomes in the land are spent so much for others, and so little for self, as those of the bishops."

This statement speaks for itself. I will only add that if a bishop with private means has so many calls upon his official income, how much more will that be the case with a bishop who has nothing of his own? In this particular case it happens that the Bishop's stipend was almost entirely raised by the free-will offerings of modern Churchmen, as is now being done at Bristol. The fact is, Sir, it is getting about time that this unworthy carping at the bishops on the part of some Nonconformists, who ought to know better, and should be ashamed to stoop to such methods, should cease.

C. Y. STURGE.

Printed and Published by Nichols and Sons 25, Parliament Street, Westminster.

Welsh Disestablishment. Who Wants It?

The following letter appeared in *The Standard* of May 16th, 1894.

Sir,—Will you permit a Welsh Nonconformist to make use of *The Standard* to point out at this serious crisis what a grave error Englishmen will fall into should they allow themselves to be persuaded that Mr. Lloyd-George and his coadjutors are representatives on this question of anything more than a section of Welsh Nonconformist opinion? How large a section that is, has never been tested. All we know is that it is a very noisy one. Now, I ask, would it be fair to conclude that, because the most noisy section of American politicians never let slip an opportunity of showing their hatred of England, therefore the mass of the American public are of that way of thinking? On the contrary, we know such is not the case.

Just so with regard to Wales and Disestablishment. To us who know Wales and Welsh Nonconformity since before Mr. Lloyd-George was born, his romancings in Parliament seem too ridiculous to contradict. And yet in this lack of contradiction lies the present danger. He tells of a deep sense of wrong among us, of burning enthusiasm for the cause he advocates; talks of us as a nation aroused against a "horde of raiders;" but to us who ought to be "in the know" it is all the veriest twaddle that mortal man ever uttered.

It makes us almost despair of the future of politics, when such audacious misrepresentation can be listened to in Parliament and cheered by what was once the Great Liberal Party. If we lived ten thousand miles away—say in Samoa—the House of Commons could not be blamed if misled by statements which distance prevented the sifting of; but we are here at your very door, and when we repeat what has been so often said, that Disestablishment enthusiasm as a factor in our public life is absolutely non-existent, that the "deep sense of wrong" is a political figment and fraud, that if the question, "Are Church clergymen a 'horde of raiders'?" were put to the vote in any promiscuous assembly of voters or non-voters in the country, the Noes would have it—when this is so often repeated, surely a British House of Commons might inquire a little before committing itself to what might prove an irremediable disaster to Welsh religious life and morals

It is only reasonable that the statements of Mr. Lloyd-George should obtain more credence than those of an obscure person like myself but the truth is that the subject is one of immeasurably

too great importance to be left to a question of credibility. Mr. Lloyd-George has made his statements with regard to Welsh feeling on this question. We, on the other hand, say that an impartial inquirer might travel from Holyhead to Cardiff, from St. David's Head to the Dee Bridge, visit every fair and market, gossip with every barber and blacksmith, listen to all the chat in train and hotel, and the one matter that no one would raise, unless he did it himself, would be Disestablishment, even though he were a good Welshman, and raised no suspicion by being, what Mr. Lloyd-George thinks proper to call our generous English friends, "an alien."

Mr. Lloyd-George states that the Church is an interloper, has no mission in Wales, no sympathy with its people, and has for centuries been engaged in stamping out its "nationhood." I suppose that means its political life. Now, we say—we, a multitude of Nonconformists—that the Church has a mission, and is more and more zealously performing it; that she has sympathy with the people of Wales, and shows it in distinctly greater measure than any other denomination does or can; that, so far from interfering with Welsh political life, the Church would not be in her present danger were it not for the strict and persistent abstention of the vast majority of her clergymen from politics.

Much has been said on the subject of Church and Chapel attendance. My own impression is, that if a fair census were taken throughout Wales, the attendance at chapels would preponderate, but not the attendance of Disestablishment advocates. Wherever the allegation has originated that chapels are used for furthering this agitation, permit me to say it is a total misconception. As regards, probably, every chapel of importance in Wales, no minister or deacon would dream of mentioning the subject, knowing too well how divided the listeners would be.

I would ask, however, where is the authority for taking attendance at church and chapel as the only criterion for usefulness? I have an old-fashioned book here which "Young Wales" is making diligent efforts to exclude from our schools, but which is still (thank God!) very much in vogue, and it tells me that the most important mission of "pure religion and undefiled" is to "visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction," and when we shall - as I trust we will—shortly join hands in earnest to show what Wales means, we will, I hope, have also a census and a vote from the "fatherless and widows," and Mr. Lloyd-George will, I think, come off second best.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Holyhead, May 11. J. MORETON PRICHARD

Printed & Published by Nichols & Sons, 25, Parliament Street S.W.

No. 174.

DEFENCE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

The following important Manifesto, signed by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England and Wales, has been issued :—

"The introduction into Parliament by Her Majesty's Government of a Bill for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales makes it our duty to address the Church.

"A proposal is made to dismember the Church, and to deal with a portion of it in a way detrimental alike to the spiritual, moral, and temporal well-being of many of our parishes.

"Its provisions for Disestablishment are such as to weaken the unity of the Church ; to endanger the whole relation which ought to exist between the Welsh and English Dioceses, for the purposes as well of legal discipline and jurisdiction as of joint deliberation, and, consequently, for the security of spiritual teaching.

"Its plan of Disendowment is to alienate for secular purposes those ancient gifts by which the service of God and the pastoral care of Christian people have been for centuries maintained in every parish. We cannot but look on these gifts as the heritage of the poor. The poor would at once be deprived of their legal right to a free place in their parish church, to the spiritual services which they have been always able to claim, from the

baptism of their children to the burial of their dead, and to the residence among them of a pastor to visit them and minister to their sick and dying.

" This proposal relies partly on a statement historically untrue, that the Church in Wales is an intruded Church, and partly on the assertion that it is the Church of a small minority. Both these things, it is said, make it an alien Church which should now be despoiled.

" The fact is that our Church has had a continuous corporate life in Wales longer than in England. Were it dispossessed in Wales, an ancient and religious race would be deprived of their earliest, most sacred institution. The Church has there passed through the same difficulties as in England. Its vigorous quickening in Wales as a spiritual body, fully commensurate as that is with its admitted material development, is due to the spirit and action of the Welsh people and clergy.

" That we are ignorant of the real proportions of the religious bodies is due to the persistent refusal of opponents to allow their allegations to be verified by an official census. But there is no proof that Churchmen form a marked minority of the population.

" Desiring to deal with principles, not particulars, we leave to others to show in detail what would be the economic effects of the Bill. The collection of the unaltered tithe by public officials and its irregular dispersion, the offer of glebe to parishes for objects which should be and are otherwise provided, the diversion of philanthropic gifts and subscriptions to the necessary maintenance of the Church, the cost of Board schools consequent on the inevitable surrender of so many Voluntary schools —these and many more results we leave to be treated by others. But the direct financial provisions are such as to reduce the

Church to penury, and, ultimately, to leave her with practically no pecuniary resources for her reorganisation and work in the future.

"The certain conclusion is that the public worship of God would be impeded, the rights which Establishment secures to the poor would be extinguished, and the many benefits which Endowment brings to their door would be lost.

"We therefore wish the poor as well as the rich frankly and fully to consider these things. We desire especially that instructed laymen, no less than clergymen, should reflect how little knowledge of these things exists, and how easily ignorance is misled; and that they should themselves lay the facts openly before the people.

"We recommend the clergy, while using every proper opportunity to instruct their parishes, not to take advantage of their position to treat the subject in sermons; but to keep the House of God sacred from contention, even in a good cause. For the present let them never omit the Prayer for Parliament, and let them simply after the Collect of the Day add this: 'O Lord, we beseech Thee, let Thy continual pity cleanse and defend Thy Church, and because it cannot continue in safety without Thy succour, preserve it evermore by Thy help and goodness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'

"Every man has an interest in the good government of his country. It is not for us to say one word as between the legitimate divisions of political opinion. But the issue now raised stands alone and distinct from questions of Party. And we are bound as Trustees of a sacred heritage to call upon every Christian man, Churchman or Nonconformist, who values the inheritance of his fathers, and observes the spiritual work proceeding in his own times, to consider, in God's sight, how the

vote he records may preserve or alienate gifts given ages ago, and used ever since for God's service and the people's welfare, may make or avert the most momentous change in our Constitution, may help or hinder the Church of Christ which has come down to us as the spiritual and inspiring force of the nation."

(Signed)

EDW. CANTUAR.
WILLELM EBOR.
F. LONDIN.
B. F. DUNELM.
A. WINTON.
C. J. GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.
J. HEREFORD.
ARTHUR C. BATH AND WELLS.
R. CICESTR.
W. BASIL ST. DAVID'S.
J. C. LIVERPOOL.
E. R. NEWCASTLE.
R. LLANDAFF.
W. OXON.
GEORGE SOUTHWELL.
W. B. RIPON.
E. LINCOLN.
E. H. EXON.
JOHN SARUM.
J. MANCHESTER.
ALWYNE ELY.
WM. WALSHAM WAKEFIELD.
F. J. CESTR.
A. G. ASAPH.
D. L. BANGOR.
J. W. ALBAN.
R. T. ROFFEN.
M. PETRIBURG.
JOHN TRURON.
AUGUSTUS LICHFIELD.
JOHN W. CARLISLE.
JOH. NORVIC.
N. SODOR AND MAN.

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Mr. GLADSTONE ON THE CHURCH.

Every Liberal Voter should carefully read these words of the great leader :—

The Church's Place in History.

"The Church of England has not only been a part of the history of the country, but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass. Take the Church of England out of the History of England and the History of England becomes a chaos, without order, without life, and without meaning."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May* 16, 1873.

The Church at Work.

"The case of the English Church, instead of being a case in which there is nothing to say, is a case in which there is a great deal to say. Instead of being the mockery of a National Church, it is a Church with regard to which its defenders say that it has the adhesion and support of a very large majority of the people, and I confess I am very doubtful whether the allegation can be refuted. It is a Church which works very hard. It is a Church that is endeavouring to do its business, a Church that has infinite ramifications through the whole fabric and structure of society—a Church which has laid a deep hold upon many hearts as well as many minds."—*Speech at Edinburgh, November* 10, 1885.

The Difficulties of Disestablishment.

"I can tell you that the disestablishment of the Irish Church was what I would call a big job, and as for the disestablishment of the English Church, I said I did not know then—and I can tell you I do not know now—whether the man breathes the air

of Parliament who will carry into effect that measure. There is no use in concealing the truth of this. It is a breach of duty to conceal it."—*Speech at Edinburgh, November* 10, 1885.

The Church in Wales in the Past.

"The mass of the people believe that the Welsh have been a very religious people for about 120 or 150 years; but there are a great many who are in the habit of saying that before that time the Welsh were a very godless people. This is a place, I hope, of freedom of opinion; and allow me to say, *I do not believe a word of it.*"—*Speech at Wrexham, Sept.* 5, 1888.

The Church in Wales To-Day.

"Undoubtedly the Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and I hope very distinctly a rising Church, from elevation to elevation."—*Speech in the House of Commons, Feb.* 20, 1891.

Its Identity with the Rest of the Church of England.

"There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May* 24, 1870.

Disestablishment, a National Mischief.

"I do not envy the man who ventures to take in hand the business of disestablishing the Church of England. If it were as fit to be done as I think it unfit, there is a difficulty in the case before which the boldest man would recoil. It is all very well as long as we deal with abstract declarations put upon the Notice Paper of this House, of what might be done or ought to be done; but only to go up to the walls and gates and look at the way in which stone is built upon stone, on the way in which the foundations have been dug, and the way they go down into the earth, and consider by what tools, what artillery you can bring that fabric to the ground. . . . . We cannot go in that direction; we do not intend to do so; we deprecate it, and we should regard it as a national mischief."—*Speech in the House of Commons, May* 24, 1870.

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No. 176.

PROGRESS IN ILLIBERALITY.

Ireland and Wales: A Contrast.

It may be convenient to note the progress in illiberality towards the despoiled part of the Church made by this Bill, as compared with the Irish Church Act.

By the Irish Church Act, cathedrals as well as other churches were reserved, in property as well as use, to the disestablished Church. Under this Bill all the Welsh cathedrals (which are all, I believe, parish churches) are to be permanently vested in the "Welsh Commissioners," though still to be used "for the same purposes as heretofore," if and as long as the Church Representative Body shall so request.

By the Irish Church Act all the burial grounds attached to churches were reserved to the disestablished Church, subject to existing rights of burial, unless the Church Representative Body might prefer to give them over to the guardians of the poor. Under this Bill they are all to be vested in parish, county, borough, or district councils.

By the Irish Church Act compensation was made to lay patrons of benefices for the full value of their advowsons. Under this Bill such compensation is

limited to an amount not exceeding one year's emoluments of the benefice, or an average of the three preceding years.

By the Irish Church Act compensation was made to a class of permanent curates. Under this Bill no curate will be entitled to any compensation.

By the Irish Church Act the commutation of the life interests saved by the Act, for the benefit of a sustentation fund for the disestablished Church, was encouraged, and an allowance of 12 per cent. was made out of the Church property, whenever such a commutation might be agreed to by three-fourths of the clergy having such life interests in any diocese. Under this Bill commutation for a "life compensation annuity" is allowed, with the consent of the Church Representative Body; but so that all profit arising from such commutation is to go wholly to secular purposes, in the same way as if the life interest had expired by death; and no benefit is to accrue, in this or any other way, to any Church sustentation fund. Nor is there any remission of a penny of the tithe rent-charge for the relief of owners or occupiers; and the purposes to which the property taken away from the Church is to be applied are defined, with a careful exclusion of everything for which provision is made by statute out of public rates.—Letter of the Earl of Selborne in *The Times*, May 22nd, 1894.

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No. 177.

FACTS FOR ELECTORS.

THE BRITISH CHURCH

AND

WHAT WE OWE TO IT.

The words "Parliament" and "Monarchy"—the word England itself—were unknown in Britain when the Church of this country was, and had been for centuries previous, a flourishing institution. Long before monarchy existed the Church was here. Ages before Parliament was thought of the Church was the greatest living force in the country. It is the oldest institution by far in England, and, taking it altogether, the most powerful agency for good the world has ever seen.

Very few people know what the Ancient British Church is or how much they owe to it.

It may therefore be worth while to state a few plain facts about this Church.

1. The **BRITISH CHURCH**, which covers the Principality of Wales, is the **OLDEST PORTION OF THE CHURCH** in this Island.

In the very early days of Christianity the inhabitants of Britain were fierce heathens, just as the natives of many parts of Central Africa are to-day. The Apostles of Our Lord (**Jesus Christ** is **The Head of the Church**, let us never forge this solemn and important fact) sent forth missionaries who planted the Faith in various parts of the earth.

Amongst such places was this Island of ours. In those early days of our history this country exported tin, which abounded in the mines on the coast line along the shores of Cornwall, to foreign ports, and many trading ships passed to and fro between Britain and Gaul.

It is quite easy to believe that with these traders came the first missionaries to Britain. One of these, the old records tell us, was "Bran the Blessed," Father of Caractacus, who had been taken prisoner to Rome (A.D. 51-58), became converted, and returned to his native land to preach Salvation to his own people.

Various other missionaries, some from Ireland, others from the northern parts of the Island and elsewhere, followed in their wake, until we read that by the year A.D. 200 the Britons "were subdued to Christianity."

The British Church was **organised** in Wales long before there was an **ORGANISED** Church of England. We read of British Bishops as early as A.D. 314. There were Welsh Sees (*i.e.* Bishoprics with Bishops) as early as the year A.D. 500, whereas the Church of England—though it had by that period covered the land—was not **ORGANISED** as it is to-day until the year A.D. 673.

It was this organisation of the Church which led to the formation of our National Parliament, which Parliament met in A.D. 1265 in a house (the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey) lent for the purpose (for 350 years) by the Church. So the **Church is 592 years older than the Parliament**, and as there was no King of all England until A.D. 827, the Church as we know it to-day is consequently **155 years older than monarchy.**

It follows that **no Act of Parliament, at any time, established the Church.** For Acts of Parliament were unknown for about 600 years after the Church was organised.

2. Our Saxon forefathers were fierce pagans. The British Christians fled from the fury of these invaders and took refuge in Wales and Cornwall, where, amongst the mountains and other inaccessible places, they carried on their labours for Christ and His people in comparative peace for some hundreds of years. Had it not been for these British Christians finding a refuge from their enemies **all traces of British Christianity would have been swept away.**

In course of time the British Church became merged in and

United to the rest of the Church of England.

The several Welsh bishops acknowledged the primacy of Canterbury, in the following order : Llandaff, 1107 A.D. ; St. David's, 1115 A.D. ; Bangor, 1120 A.D. ; St. Asaph, 1143 A.D.

From the year A.D. 1143, *i.e.*, 750 years ago, we may properly regard the Church in Wales as being **as much a part of the Church of England as is the Church in Middlesex, in Yorkshire,** or any other English county.

In the year A.D. 1188 Archbishop Baldwin celebrated Holy Communion at the high altar of each of the four Welsh Cathedrals, in testimony of the acknowledged supremacy of Canterbury over the four Welsh Sees. Thus was brought about the complete fusion of the Church in Wales with the Church of England, and it is worthy of notice that the absorption of the Welsh sees into the province of Canterbury took place nearly 150 years before the annexation of Wales under Edward I.

There is therefore no Church of Wales.

Properly speaking, there is absolutely no Church of Wales at all. The term **"Church in Wales"** is a misnomer. Far more accurate is it it to speak of the Church of Wales in England than the Church of England in the Principality. It merely happens that the Church of England embraces within its thirty-four dioceses *four Welsh ones*, and the truth and fact is that the whole Church system in Wales is incorporate with the rest of the Church of the land. It is

One with the National Church.

The Church of England then embraces the Church in the Principality. It is absolutely one and the same Church. The same laws, ecclesiastical and civil, govern both. The functions of the Welsh Bishops are the same identically with those of the English, the only difference being that the Bishops presiding over the Church in Wales are Welshmen capable of conducting services in both English and Welsh, whilst English Bishops are called upon to conduct services only in their native tongue.

Now, when this fact of *identity* becomes firmly established in our minds, it follows that whatever affects a portion touches the whole system; and it is no more reasonable to expect that by cutting off an arm you do not thereby seriously cripple the human body, than by cutting away the four Welsh Dioceses you would not thereby seriously affect the whole system of the one great National Church.

It should be always remembered that if the Church in Wales should be Disendowed **neither labourers nor farmers would gain a penny. Tithes will still have to be paid.** The only difference would be that instead of being paid to the parson the tithes would then be collected, just as taxes are collected, by Government officials, who could not give back to the payer one halfpenny.

Disendowment would rob the poor man of his Church, God of His honour. Therefore resist it to the uttermost.

The Church in the four Welsh Sees is ever working for the honour of Almighty God and for the welfare of the people. **Will you help to make these facts known** to your fellow-workmen, and do your utmost to preserve for yourselves and your children what is your most precious Heritage,

THE NATIONAL CHURCH?

Printed by NICHOLS & SONS, 25, Parliament Street, S.W.

A NOBLE PROTEST.

The following remarkable letter from the Dean of Llandaff was read at a great meeting held in Cardiff on June 19, 1894, to protest against the Welsh Disestablishment Bill :—

"THE DEANERY, LLANDAFF, *June* 19.

"DEAR SIR,—The enforced seclusion of a slow recovery from a long illness makes me more than ever desirous to live in peace with all men. **Always hating the strife of tongues,** deeply respecting many whom on one subject alone I must call antagonists, gratefully acknowledging the services rendered by Nonconformity in days of darkness to religion, and even to the Church, strongly convinced of the superiority of work to warfare in the defence of what we believe to be the cause of God, **I yet feel it to be impossible, consistently with honour and honesty, to be absolutely silent at a moment so critical, when the Church which I serve is threatened with confiscation, and the Cathedral of which I am a minister with the baser ignominy of desecration.**

"I trust that it will not be thought presumptuous if I ask to be allowed to express through you my entire sympathy with the protest to be uttered by the meeting over which you preside against the assault now in progress upon four dioceses of our National Church.

"While I hope that the battle will be waged, on our side at least, with all truthfulness of statement and all scrupulosity

of charity towards the motives of our assailants, I yet confess that **indignation must be one element of the feeling with which we regard the treatment of the eldest and holiest institution of our country** in the Bill now awaiting its second reading in the Lower House of Parliament.

"That Bill has two parts—Disestablishment and Disendowment. Disestablishment (1) silences the recognition by the nation of the necessity of a religion to the national well-being, and (2) removes the one security for the presence in each several locality of at least one educated person responsible for the moral and spiritual interests of the inhabitants. Disendowment sweeps away the modest remuneration of the work thus undertaken by the one only institution which even professes to offer or to care for it. Large towns (they are not numerous in the Principality) may still provide for themselves preachers after their own ideas of attractiveness. Villages must depend upon the 'accident of an accident,' the residence of (1) a rich man (2) interested in religion. **The poor will be the sufferers. It is for them that we plead when** we protest against the threatened revolution.

"**May a large success be granted to the remonstrance of our people against a measure so indifferent to facts, so reckless of consequences, so contemptuous in its tone, so harsh in its dealing, so certain to disappoint the expectations of its instigators, yet so incapable of remedy or revocation when its character is at last found out by the one test—of trial.**

"Believe me, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

"C. J. VAUGHAN."

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Our National Church

GOD AND OUR RIGHTS.

Christian Brethren,

The Archbishops and Bishops of all England solemnly appeal to you, whether Churchmen or Non-conformists, to defend the Rights and Privileges which you have inherited from your forefathers.

These Privileges are :—

A Free and Open Church,
A Free Bible,
Free Sacraments, and a
Free Ministry,

which have for centuries been maintained in every Parish of the Kingdom, and are the birthright and heritage of all. But should the Bill before Parliament for Disestablishing and Disendowing the Church in Wales pass, it will deprive thousands of our fellow Christians of these Rights, and destroy the Unity of the Church.

The Archbishops and Bishops therefore call on every Christian, without respect of party, to consider in God's sight these vital questions, and how the vote he gives may preserve or destroy Rights, given ages ago, for God's service and the people's welfare.

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C.D.I.—No. 180.

No. 182.

THE GOVERNMENT BILL

AND

THE CHURCH IN WALES.

Here is a summary of Mr. Asquith's Bill, brought into the House of Commons on April 30, 1894, and to be reintroduced next Session, given in a few pithy sentences by an eminent lay Churchman :—

The Bill would dissolve every Cathedral and Ecclesiastical Corporation in Wales and Monmouthshire.

It would deprive the Church of the custody of her Cathedrals, Episcopal residences, and other Ecclesiastical buildings, declaring them to be national property, and only permitting the Church the use of them under certain conditions.

It would take possession of the Church's consecrated burying-grounds, and vest them in some secular Body.

It would alter the boundaries of Dioceses.

It would transfer Parishes and Incumbents from the jurisdiction of one Bishop to that of another **without the consent of the Ecclesiastical authority.**

It would interfere with the constitution of the Synod of the Southern Province, and the rights of the Metropolitan, by attempting to prohibit the Bishops and Proctors of the Dioceses

of St. David's, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor from sitting in the Convocation of Canterbury.

It would secularise all property devoted to the service of God and the maintenance of religion previous to the year 1703.

It would lay hands on the funds which the piety of Queen Anne had restored to the Church, commonly called Queen Anne's Bounty.

It would vest all that the devotion of Churchmen in former generations had entrusted to the Church for the purposes of religion, and the maintenance of the Catholic Faith, **in three Commissioners,** who should be paid out of the **plunder of the Church**: a proceeding which has no parallel in the history of England since the dissolution of the Monasteries and the persecution of religion in the days of the Commonwealth.

And **it would apply the funds** so acquired, with the exception of such remnants of her property as the Church might be allowed to retain, **to secular purposes,** such as the endowment of undenominational education, Parish Halls and Institutes, Museums, Libraries, an Academy of Arts, or any public purpose of local or general utility for which provision has not been made by Statute out of public rates.

Disendowment is always wrong and to be opposed. The methods proposed in this Bill for carrying it out are peculiarly harsh and vindictive.

Let your Parliamentary Representative know that if he supports this Bill you cannot support him.

Printed by W. I. Richardson, 4 and 5, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

No. 184.

What is of more or less Importance to Church and State in the Principle of Establishment and Endowment.

SPEECH BY THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

On the above question, which was set down for discussion at the meeting of the Manchester Diocesan Conference on October 15, 1894, the Bishop of Manchester said he should answer the question in what might be perhaps an unexpected way.

The things he believed that were more important were the facts of Establishment and Endowment, while those of less importance were the particular incidents or forms of those two things. He thought the fact of Establishment was of importance because it gave to the State a religious organ by which to express its sense that the principles of righteousness which it was established to promote were nothing else than the laws of God for the government of our corporate life.

They heard some people talk about Disestablishment as "freeing the Church from the bondage of the State." There was even a society in existence, called the Liberation Society, which professed in its very name that its main object was to break that bondage. He believed that this language betrayed a totally false idea of the State, which was conceived of as a merely secular institution, of which the main, if not the sole, purpose was to protect its members from attacks upon property or person. It was a mistake, not unlike that which the agnostics made respecting matter. Matter they conceived of as being essentially evil, and the occasion of all evil in man. Deliverance

from evil, therefore, could only be secured in this life by as great a separation from matter as ascetic practices could effect. We knew better now. We knew that matter was a good creature of God. So in respect to the State. No one denied that it was a main purpose of the State to give security to person and property. But then they saw that the State was more than the soldier and the policeman. When the State did its work mainly by means of the sword and baton, it was in a bad way. Its subjects were not wild animals but men with minds and wills, and if those men were to be kept within bounds of social order, they must be persuaded to submit their wills to that order by appeals addressed to their understandings, or by aid given to their moral infirmity.

How were such appeals to be made ? How was such support to be given ? It could only, they believed, be done effectually through the teaching and communion of Christ's Church. "Oh, but," said some, "the State can obtain that aid without entering into any corporate alliance with the Church. Let the Church do its work on its own lines, and let the State be satisfied with such support as it can get without interfering in religious matters." What was involved in that contention ? It meant, when interpreted by facts, as he had seen it interpreted in one of our colonies, that in order to avoid the awakening of jealousies among different religious communities, the State, as represented by its legislatures and officials, should ignore the subject of religion altogether. It meant, in respect to religion, a tacit understanding that in none of the greatest acts the State should stand consciously under the eye of God.

The results of such a tacit understanding were deplorable. If the Divine authority was never invoked it was soon forgotten. Men acted in all the affairs of State, not under the sense of Divine obligation, but according to the maxims of a short-sighted expediency. Self-interest usurped the place of public spirit, and equivocal dealing became sharpness, until gradually the black stream of political corruption broke down the barriers of righteous principle, and flooded all the plains of corporate action. Nor did the evil stop there. For in communities like ours, where politics were of such engrossing interest, the tone of political life and the open example of politicians very speedily

corrupted the morals of private men. People forgot that the State was no abstraction. It embraced the whole body of living men who were engaged in political work. And if they accustomed those men to act on bad principles in politics, they would not be long before they applied the same principles to all the affairs of their life. If the State was to be preserved from moral deterioration it must have a visible organ in some branch of the Church Catholic through which it continually reminded itself of its responsibility to God.

But where was the State to find that organ? Where religion differed so widely, how should the State make choice among the religious communions? If any such necessity existed in England the difficulty would be indeed a formidable one. Happily for us, however, that difficulty did not exist. The National Church of England was older than the State, and it had had no small part in moulding the State and making it what it is. Through all out national vicissitudes, through all our national changes of opinion and institutions, "the holy Church of England" had stood beside the State, leavening that State with its opinions and supporting it by its religious ministrations. There was no question before us of choosing a religious organ, but of discarding that which we possessed, of secularising first the State and then more and more the individuals who composed it.

Secondly, he gave the title of "more important" to the continuance of the endowments of the National Church. Was it a small thing to secure by those very modest endowments the residence of a man of culture and piety in every parish in the land, bound, by the very nature of his office, to teach the ignorant, to relieve the distressed, to comfort the sorrowful, and to sustain by his initiative and support every effort to make life brighter, wiser, holier, and happier? Could the endowments of the Church of England be diverted to any object of greater public utility? Had past confiscations of such property left the poor any richer or happier? Once it secured to all of them a teacher, counsellor, and friend. After confiscation it was swallowed up in the general fund, and lost to them. The whole mass of the poor would suffer from the loss of them which would suffer in a special degree.

In his late visitation of this city he (the Bishop) found, as an

instance, that in a population which could not be far short of 100,000, there was not a single resident Nonconformist minister. Visitation had to be done by the clergy and the Roman Catholic priests. No one blamed the Nonconformists for such desertions. Their ministers could not live without the means of living, and when those means could no longer be provided they must depart. Such facts showed the folly of the plea that in religion, as in trade, the demand must regulate the supply. If the National Church lost her endowments, those of the poor would suffer an irreparable injury who most needed and were least able to supply the ministrations of religion. He concluded, then, that the more important things in connection with Establishment and Endowment were that there should be both Establishment and Endowment in some form.

The less important things were to be found among the formal accidents of these. Thus, with respect to Endowment, it might be a question for consideration whether there should not be a different distribution of the Church's funds. Great reforms had been introduced in this respect by the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Vast sums were vested in the hands of the commissioners, taken mainly from episcopal and chapter estates, and they were directed to distribute them, as the needs of the Church required, in poor or populous districts, and in augmentation of the salaries of ill-paid clergymen. They had done a great work, and would do a yet greater ; but, of course, the question might still be asked whether Bishops and Deans and a few of the Clergy were not too well paid, and whether it might not be to the interest of the Kingdom of God to reduce their stipends still further in the interests of poor and populous places. Let them not imagine that this was as easy a question as it might perhaps sound, and, above all, let them not imagine that a large fund could be obtained by any further possible reductions.

Again, there were some of the incidents of Establishment which might perhaps be altered with advantage. He did not doubt that once upon a time, when the national life of England was less specialised than it was now, it was greatly to the advantage of the State that the wisest or most learned men in the kingdom, as the Bishops then were, should have seats and votes

in Parliament. Now it was fair to ask whether the time had not come to ordain that they should not have them any longer. It was not an easy question to answer, and those who would answer it offhand were perhaps those who had thought least about it. They might have seen, perhaps, the other day that the Bishops prevented a proposed alteration of our marriage laws, which, in his (the Bishop's) opinion, would have had a very injurious influence on family life. And in many other ways he had seen that their influence might be useful.

At the same time he was constrained to admit that much might be said on the other side. First, the proper work of the Bishops in visitation, spiritual help, and general administration was much greater and more absorbing than in past days. The Bishops had literally no spare time for politics. At the same time legislation was becoming daily so much more difficult, it dealt with affairs so much more complicated, and with details so much more numerous than in the past, that any effective interference with it required the whole time and thought of the ablest men. Not many, he suspected, of the Bishops had pursued the special studies which related to political changes, and very much fewer had the time to master the facts which required or justified such changes. The question, then, whether the Bishops should continue to be spiritual peers, with seats in the House of Lords, would have to be determined by a comparison of the good they could do in respect to questions of a moral and spiritual complexion with the disabilities which prevented them from interfering profitably in general politics. At any rate, that, in his judgment, was one of the less important things connected with Establishment and Endowment.

Passing to another point, that of the present mode of appointing Bishops, his lordship said that he fully recognised the necessity of allowing the people of England to have a voice in the appointment of Bishops so long as the Church of England continued to be the National Church, only he thought that the method in which that voice made itself heard might be improved. It was now too exclusively represented by the will of one man, the Prime Minister. The Monarch, it was true, had a personal veto, and, sometimes, to the welfare of the Church interposed it. But still he thought that the method of nomina-

tion might be improved, and that the present method, the result of many historic changes, was rather cumbrous and unsatisfactory. He would propose that the voice of the laity should be expressed by a vote of the Cabinet Council. They would thus get the judgment of men who more adequately represented the mind on this matter of the peoples' representatives. The veto of the Crown, which was valuable, should be retained. Then instead of referring the clerical election to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, under the stress of an unworthy threat, he would suggest that it be put into the hands of the clergy of the diocese, specially called together for the purpose. The person so approved would, he thought, adequately represent the choice of the clergy and laity. And as now, if the Bishops of the Province were willing, they would make him a Bishop and give him spiritual mission.

There were, no doubt, other incidents of their Church system which might be improved, but enough had been said to show what he meant by declaring that the less important things in connection with Establishment and Endowment were represented by the accidental forms of those necessary things. His counsel, then, was, "Reform, but do not abolish the things of which we are speaking. In themselves they are good and useful; in the forms by which they are applied to the actual circumstances of our national life, they are capable of, and should receive, improvement."

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No. 186.

How the Roman Catholic Bishops in Great Britain have Repudiated any Claim to the Property of the English Church.

In 1826 there appeared an important Manifesto entitled "A Declaration of the Catholic Bishops, the Vicars Apostolical and other Coadjutors in Great Britain."

Section IX. of this document headed—

"ON THE CLAIM OF BRITISH CATHOLICS TO THE PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN ENGLAND,"

is as follows:—

"British Catholics are charged with entertaining a pretended right to the property of the Established Church in England. We consider such a charge to be totally without foundation.

We declare that we entertain no pretensions to such a claim. We regard all the revenues and temporalities of the Church Establishment as the property of those on whom they are settled by the laws of the land. We disclaim any right, title, or pretension with regard to the same."

The Declaration was re-issued by the Roman Catholic Institute in, or after, 1838, with the names added of those who had been appointed in the meantime.

The full text of the Declaration can be obtained from Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., London.

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A GREAT person at a great meeting in Wales has been quoting St. Ambrose and Bishop Thirlwall in favour of Welsh Disestablishment, and naturally made an impression. Suppose we see

WHAT AMBROSE REALLY SAID AND DID.

There is no doubt about what Ambrose did with some sacred vessels belonging to the Church at Milan. He sold them to ransom some captives from barbarian invaders.

Bishop Thirlwall said that this implied that in Ambrose's opinion "Church property might rightly and fitly be diverted to another and a wholly different use;" and that the possibility of circumstances arising in which this might be done "transfers the question to the broad ground of general expediency and common utility."

In other words, authorities may take away Church property and apply it to purposes of "general usefulness," if they think it expedient. He allows that they make a mistake in judgment, but "there is no fair room" for regarding it "as a sin or a crime" so to use Church property.

He thus gathers what he *thinks* were *Ambrose's principles* from Ambrose's action. But (as he says himself) authorities may make mistakes. Thirlwall is a great authority, but he has made a great mistake, and has misled many. He overlooked the fact that *Ambrose himself tells us what his own principles were.*

First says Ambrose, Any one who attempts to deal with Church property ought to be "*very sincere and very clear-sighted.*"

Then he says, There *are* cases in which you *may* alienate it:

To save the lives of the poor. To redeem captives. To give Christian burial to those who have perished.

We understand this last because we know how awful were the wars and pillaging, the famines and the plagues of the old world. As to the poor people of whom he speaks, he says that if they were not ransomed they would die of famine or be butchered, their women would be outraged, and their children brought up heathen.

"In these three kinds of things," he says, "it is lawful" to sell Church property to remedy them, after having done (as he implies that he and his had done) "all that we can and more than we can." And he emphatically says, "*Of course if anyone diverts such property to his own advantage that is a crime.*"

Now it is not proposed to apply the Church property of Wales to relieve horrors like these, to which no Churchman in the world would hesitate to apply it. It is proposed only to apply it to purposes of "common expediency and general utility," to things which we can do without helping ourselves to Church property,—and "*that*," says Ambrose, "*is a crime.*"

II.

But there is another action of Ambrose about which we have heard nothing. We are told there is no "sacrilege," no "robbery of God" in such appropriations; that God cannot be supposed to accept material offerings, or to regard a cathedral more than a market. But what said Ambrose, to whom the appeal is made?

The Empress and her Ministers wished to take away from the Church one of its churches in the city, and make it over to the use of a sect which wanted it, and which they wished to conciliate. Ambrose resisted this, against every persuasion and every terror; though he said he would put anything of his own at the service of the Government. The reasons he gave for resistance were these. 'God's minister was not at liberty to give up God's temple;' 'it was not among the things which were Cæsar's;' 'he could not give up what he had received to guard and not to give up;' 'Far be it from me to give up *the inheritance of Christ.*'

Now some of us may be more advanced and know better than Ambrose. But if you appeal before all England and Wales to the authority of Ambrose, we may as well know what Ambrose *did* say and do.

He was quite clear that Church property could not be appropriated to secular convenience without "a crime." And he was quite clear that Church property was the property of God and the "Inheritance of Christ."

III.

Thirlwall appeals to Ambrose, and we see what Ambrose says. Somebody else appeals to Thirlwall, and this is what Thirlwall says in the same speech: There is "an argument founded on a fancied analogy between Wales and Ireland. Far from there being an analogy there is the strongest contrast between the two."

See Bishop Thirlwall's "Essays and Speeches," p. 239, &c. Ambrose, "De Officiis Ministrorum, B. II., xxviii., 42; Epistles, xx. xxi.; and his sermon "De Basilicis Tradendis."

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No. 188.

Three Good *Authorities on the Right of the State to Disendow the Church.*

1. A Liberal Lawyer. 2. A Liberal Historian.
3. A Liberal Statesman.

It was said at Cardiff:—

"*I suppose we all remember what the State once did with these endowments—how it took them at the time of the Reformation from the old Church, and handed, not all of them to the Reformed Church, but to barons, great and small. . . . The State took it and thus assigned it, and this, in my phraseology, was an act of national option, which may be repealed at any moment. If, therefore, I am correct in my reading of these endowments, and if my statement as to the Reformation is correct, it is not wise for the defenders of the Establishment to rest too much upon the right of property, because, if the indefeasible right to ancient property rested in any way in these endowments, it rested, not with the Reformed, but with the Roman Catholic Church.*"

But, 1. Sir R. Phillimore said:—

"It is not only a religious, but a legal, error to suppose that a new Church was introduced at the time of the Reformation."

2. Professor Freeman has told us:—

"It is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing English Church. Nothing was further from the mind of Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth than the thought that either of them was doing anything new. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of establishing a new Church or of establishing anything at all. In their own eyes they were not establishing, but reforming; they were not pulling down or setting up, but putting to rights. The whole argument must assume, because the facts of history compel us to assume, the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation with the Church of England before the Reformation."

3. Mr. Gladstone has written:—

"I can find no trace of that opinion which is now common in the mouths of unthinking persons, that the Roman Catholic Church was abolished in England at the period of the Reformation, and that a Protestant Church was put in its place; nor does there appear to have been so much as a doubt in the minds of any one of them (the Reformers) whether this Church, legally established in England after the Reformation, was the same institution with the Church legally established in England before the Reformation."

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Tithes and Disestablishment.

MANY tithepayers are, it is well known, under the erroneous impression that in case of the Disestablishment of the Church the payment of tithes would cease.

The following answer given by Mr. Asquith, the Home Secretary, in the House of Commons on Thursday, May 9th, 1895, should finally remove this misapprehension :—

Sir F. MILNER having asked whether, in the event of the Bill for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England in Wales becoming law, tithe would have to be paid as at present; whether it would be collected by Government officials, and if prompt payment upon a fixed date would be enforced; and whether in the event of special distress any rebate could be allowed.

Mr. ASQUITH replied as follows :—

"The tithe rent-charges, falling under the provisions of the Welsh Church Bill, will continue to be payable half-yearly, on the 1st of January and the 1st of July. They will be payable to and collected, not by Government officials, but by the County Council, who will be responsible for handing over to the Welsh Commissioners such amounts as will be required to satisfy vested interests. There is nothing in the Bill to require the County Council to exceed the proper payment or to prevent them making rebate. If the amount received by them is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the Commissioners and the satisfaction of the vested interests, the deficiency will have to be made up from the county funds."

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C.D.I.—No. 190.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

THE NOTION OF A STATE ENDOWMENT SIMPLY A MISTAKE.

The following clear statement of facts appears in the lately published life of Professor E. A. Freeman:—

"It is supposed that the Church was some time or other endowed by the State. Now if such were the case it would clearly show, not that Church property is national property, but that it is not so. What a man gives away is no longer his, therefore if the State had endowed the Church, the recall of the endowment would still only come under the head of the State's extraordinary power.

But in truth, this notion of a State endowment is simply a mistake. The thing never happened. People take it for granted; but they cannot tell one the date or the circumstances of the event. The truth is that, except some comparatively small and comparatively recent pecuniary grants, the Church of England owes all her vested revenues to the voluntary system. They are derived from property freely given at various times by various benefactors. They differ in nothing but their greater extent and greater antiquity from the endowments common among some Dissenting bodies. The law simply maintains the Church in rights, some of which are older than the Parliament or the Monarchy. Of course much Church property came from Royal gifts; but in days when no man doubted that the Crown lands were the King's private property, a Royal gift and a State gift were two different things. One King gave to bishops and monks, another gave to minions or mistresses. Both gifts might be foolish, but both were legal. Neither constituted a State endowment. It is said that in the sixteenth century Church property changed hands, that it was taken from one Church and given to another. In the mouth of a Roman Catholic this may mean that Roman Catholics ought to possess

it; in the month of a Protestant Dissenter, it is commonly an *argumentum ad hominem* to illustrate the power of the State. But here again, the event never happened. I am not speaking theologically, but historically. The Roman Catholic may be theologically right in holding that the changes of the sixteenth century deprived the Church of England of all right to be called a Church. I only say that, legally and historically, the Church before the Reformation and the Church after the Reformation are one and the same body. The Church presided over by Augustine, by Becket, by Cranmer, by Laud, and by Sumner is one and the same society. There was no transfer from one society to another, but an existing society made certain changes in its own constitution. 'A Town Priest' says that gifts made to a Church which held the Papal supremacy cannot be fairly held by a Church which rejects it. Unless he can show that this or that possession was given specially to support the Papal supremacy, his argument is good for nothing. That is, it may be very good theologically, but it can prove nothing against the legal and historical identity of the society."—*Letter to Evening Star, October* 25, 1858.

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CHURCH DISESTABLISHMENT. IS IT RIGHT?

It is said to be "the favourite argument" of Churchmen that "it has never been properly proved that the Church in Wales is in a minority." This is not true. The question whether the Church is in a minority or not is not the important one. The important fact is this—that to disestablish and disendow a Church is wrong as well as unwise. Those who dwell on the numbers of the Church in Wales point in the first place to the number of Members returned to Parliament in favour of Disestablishment, and argue, because they are 31 to 3, that therefore this is the proportion of people in Wales in favour of Disestablishment.

But let us look a little deeper. There were 145,818 persons who at the last election voted for Disestablishment, and 86,883 who voted against it. Therefore, if the votes had been evenly divided, Churchmen should at least have 12 members instead of 3. It is probable that at the next election there will be a very great improvement in this matter.

When those who are in favour of Disestablishment make absurd statements about the numbers of Churchmen it is natural to reply, "Take a religious census, and find out." This was done in Ireland before the Church was disestablished, and there is no reason why it should not be done in Wales. The fact is that the advocates of Disestablishment are afraid of a religious census.

Yet, without a census, we have still something to go by. The communicants of the Church on Easter Day, 1894, numbered 120,477. Now, according to *Whitaker's Almanack*, the whole Church population of England and Wales is 13,750,000, while the communicants numbered 1,607,000, or 12 per. cent.

In Wales the proportion of communicants is probably higher than in the country generally. Let us put it at 16 per. cent. Then the Church population of Wales would be 120,477 multiplied by $6\frac{1}{4}$, which would equal 752,981.

Some people will try and throw dust in your eyes, and compare the communicants in the Church of England with those who are called communicants in Nonconformist bodies, but this

is misleading. A communicant, or member, of a Nonconformist body practically includes every grown-up person in communion with that body, as any one may see who looks at their official figures. Thus the official number of communicants and of Sunday school children make up as nearly as possible their total number of adherents. In the Church of course it is very different. The Church in Wales has, in fact, more adherents than three large Nonconformist bodies—viz. Calvinistic Methodists, Congregrationalists, and the Wesleyans—put together. These three bodies claim 268,000, 279,000, and 69,000 adherents respectively, or 616,000 altogether, while the Church has probably more than 750,000.

Now why should this Church to which so large a portion of the people in Wales belong have its money taken from it? Churchmen do not propose to take away Nonconformist endowments, which, by the way, are very much larger and more numerous than is generally supposed. Why should the Church be treated differently? No one ventures to say now that the money is not being well used. Not only is the Church doing her own work, but Churchmen are the great supporters of all the charities in Wales. A table has been prepared showing the support given to Infirmaries, Hospitals, and similar Institutions in Wales during the last fifty years, and it seems that while the whole sum contributed by Nonconformists was £24,000, Churchmen gave £251,000.

The enemies of the Church taunt her that she complains that if her revenues were taken away her work could not go on. Churchmen do not say this. However cruelly they were robbed they would go on doing their very utmost in the future as in the past. But that does not make it right to rob the Church. The money has been given to God's service, and for that purpose it ought to be preserved. Every thoughtful person can surely understand this, and will take care to vote for no man who would help in robbing the Church of God, as well as the poor and the suffering for whom the Church at present is doing so much.

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THE

PRIVATE ORIGIN OF TITHES.

MR. ASQUITH'S admission on this subject, in Committee on the Welsh Disestablishment Bill on June 17, ought to silence for ever the fiction that the tithes were given to the Church by the State. The Bill proposed to reserve to the Church property which had been given to it by a private person out of his own resources "since the year 1703." An amendment was moved to omit the words "since the year 1703," so as to reserve to the Church all private benefactions, at whatever date they had been given. Mr. Asquith declared that the Government could not possibly accept the amendment, as the effect of it would be to give to the Disestablished Church the whole of the tithe. The admission startled not a few of the members on both sides of the House, and Lord Cranborne remarked that he had thought it had been contended that the tithes were given by the State.

MR. ASQUITH thereupon added that "it was an arguable position to take up that, although tithes became a compulsory tax after a certain date, they were originally a voluntary obligation, and were given by private persons out of their own resources. If the amendment were adopted, it might be contended, and it might be open to a court of law to say, that practically the whole revenue of the present Established Church passed to the representative body of the Disestablished Church. In other words, the Bill, instead of disendowing the Church, would re-endow it."

Of the many admissions made by Mr. Asquith during the debate, this is perhaps not the least important.

WHY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASSES SUPPORT THE NATIONAL CHURCH?

By ALDERMAN PHILLIPS.

SPEAKING at a great meeting of working men in Birmingham on October 7, 1893, Alderman PHILLIPS, of West Ham, said:—

Why should the working-classes support the National Church? I want to put that to you from the standpoint of one whom the working-men of East London have honoured by putting somewhat as one of their leaders. I shall speak to you from that standpoint, just as I would have put the matter before you if I had been asked to come to a trades' union meeting to point out why I hold that men should stand loyal to the principles of trades' unionism. Why, then, should a working-man support the principle of a National Church? And, moreover, I hold that not only he should do it, but that he should do it more to-day than ever it has been done in the past. The need for working-men up and down England to stand solid by the principle of a National Church is greater to-day than ever it has been, because every day that goes by, and every year that rolls around, the State is taking over more and more to itself, and taking out of the hands of individuals more and more the management and the control of affairs. Think for a moment of what we do already. The moment that a little baby is born—the moment that one of you fellows has another "kid" in the house—the State comes down and says, "I am going to look after that." It will not let you have the management. It says, "I am going to see that the baby is registered; I am going to see that the baby is vaccinated; I am going to see, by and bye, that the baby is educated; because you might be a selfish unmanly man, not worthy of the name of it, because you might want to make that youngster go out and help to earn the living for the family when it was too weak to do it, I, the State, will throw my protecting arm round the child for a certain number of years." The State says, "We realise that these little bodies, the boys and the girls, are to be the men and women of the future, and we want them to grow up strong, sensible, and thoughtful men and women, and if we left them to the individual caprice of a father and mother many of them would grow up unfit men and women." And so the State takes them away. Then the State does another thing. It does not allow a man the choice as to whether he shall put a bit of paving-stone in front of his house or put a lamp up. It says, "We are going to create a municipality, or a board of works, or a county council, and so, collectively, we will attend to the roads and water them." It does not leave any man to say, "I will water this bit of the dusty road." It does it collectively. There will come into your heads what an enormous number of things the State does. Now, many men, whose number is growing very rapidly, are throwing abroad this very principle—that the State should not only do what it does, but that it should do more: that it should take over some of our sources of wealth and large industries. I am not saying whether that principle is right or wrong, but it is growing very rapidly, and permeating a large number of the level-headed men of the day. A man said to me, "I cannot, for the life of me, see why the State should not take over the mines to work them the same as it does the Post Office—(cheers)—paying out those who are interested in them now, and paying the miners a *minimum* wage, with a pension at the end, like it does the postmen and the policemen." Well, this is just the idea that is in the air; but the idea of to-day very often is the great fact of to-morrow. Now, my point is this, if we are going in bit by bit for the nationalization of wealth, if the

State or the nation is going to take over these large centres of wealth, and control the large centres of industry, I maintain that it is only logical, and according to the past history of the nations of the world, it is only common sense, that the nation should recognise religion in this wealthy and industrial community; because, remember this, working men, it is not wealth, and it is not the re-distribution of wealth, that will make up the greatness of the country; it is character. That is the true capital of the country. (Cheers.) There passed away a man a little while ago—I will tread gently over dead men's graves, and, therefore, not mention his name—a man possessed of enormous wealth; but what did he do with it? He spent it upon women, race-horses, and fighting-men. Imagine a country made up of such men—wealthy men, but men of no character. Will you tell me whether the country would stand, as it does to-day, in the forefront of the nations of the world, if that was the character of your nation? Look at your own ranks. Who are the men that are the backbone of your trades' unions, of your Foresters' Societies, of your Odd Fellows, of the large societies that you have brought together up and down the land? Not your boozers, not your cadgers, not your loafers, but the men of character, of grit. They are the men that make the backbone of the nation. Therefore, I submit that it is economically and ethically sound for the nation to give its moral and financial support to a movement whose aim is to produce character.

Canon Jacob said that the nation or State does not pay one clergyman. That is absolutely true, and you men ought to know it, and if you read the budgets you must know that the State does not pay the clergyman. But I maintain that it would be money well laid out if the State would plant down so many thousands a year. You want more men to devote their whole time to agitate up and down the country towards producing better characters. (Cheers.) Some man very often says to me, "Look at the money that is spent on the Church. What has it produced?" I decline to allow moral work to be put down in that way. You cannot tabulate and put down in statistics what the Church is producing. I will put it to you in this way. A few years ago down in West Ham, which I am alderman of and where I live, we started fighting and agitating for a free library. We did not get a beautiful building such as you have got here for Birmingham, but when we were fighting for it some of the stingy ratepayers there said "That means another 1d. in the pound. What are you going to give us for the 1d.?" One man said, "Look here Phillips, I am willing to pay another 1d. for better paving-stones or for more sewers, but I want to know what are you going to give me." I said, "When we have got our free library I admit that I shall not be able to point to more paving-stones, or more lamps, or more sewers, but let the library alone for four or five years and I will point you to men who are bigger men intellectually, morally, and spiritually because of the contact with the great minds who wrote the books which we shall store in that library." (Cheers.)

So, working men, because you cannot tabulate and put down the number of men who are leading better lives because of this great pulsing power of the preaching and the teaching and the praying that is going on up and down the land and all over it by means of this great Church of England to-day, because you cannot tabulate the results, I say that it is unfair to say that they are doing nothing. I say that by and by, when you and I have passed from here, and we stand side by side by God's great recording angel, and he permits us to look down at that book, and we read the writing there, we shall see what a large number of men there is who are better fathers and grander men, and whose lives were made purer, and what a number of mothers there is who were made more motherly, and what a number of young men who were made purer, and we shall see that great roll call of the humble heroes of everyday life who were produced by the power of the Church of to-day, and we shall be silent as to the mere money that has been spent upon it. (Cheers.) See us as we tend onwards towards Socialism. I plead by the history of the nations who are running a Godless Socialism—I plead by the history of their failures—that it is all imperative that we should have a large, living, powerful religion spreading up and down the land that shall make real the motives of men, and make them brotherly, godly, noble, and unselfish. True permanency of character must be created and nourished by the religion of Christ, or, believe me, there will come an awful reaction. I do not know anything more disappointing and more terrible than for a man to live and toil, give up his leisure and give up his thought towards some ideal, and, by-and-bye, he reaches that ideal, and when

he reaches it he finds that it is rotten ; it is a burst bubble, and he holds it in his hand, and the thing that he has lived for crumples in his hand, and goes down a wreck at his feet. I tell you men to-day, who are looking forward to Socialism built up without God, that you are giving too much time to it. I admire your industry, I admire your self-denial ; but there will come a time when that Socialism will burst in your hands like a bubble. You will have change—perhaps a redistribution of wealth ; but the selfishness, and the grasping, and the wolfishness, and the devilishness of men will still be there, and your beautiful ideal will be gone. Because I want to ward off that day I plead with you common-sense Englishmen that you will do all that you can to stand by the principle, and support in every way that you can the principle that the nation shall have more and more of the religion of Christ spreading up and down it rather than that it should be hindered, or hampered, or fettered in any way. (Cheers.)

Then another point that I just want to put before you is this : What form of national religion shall we recognise ? My brother men, I do think that it must be a large-backed Catholic, all-embracing form ; it must be a form that shall be able to stretch its hands out on the right hand and on the left, like the Christ who founded it, and say "Whosoever will may come" to the plain wayfaring man, to the man of culture, to the broad man, and, perhaps, to the narrow man. It should be a Church that shall be wide enough for all to enter in ; and I do claim that with all its faults we have that in our midst to-day. (Cheers.) There are faults in some of its men, very likely, but oh, believe me, and ever remember this—that principles are bigger than men, and that the faults of men do not alter principles. I remember a little while ago meeting a sailor down in the dock district near where I live, and the man said to me, "Look here, Phillips, do you see that ?" and he held in his hand a ticket of the Sailors and Firemen's Union. He said, "I am going to tear it in halves." I said, "You won't. What are you going to tear it in halves for ? You were one of the first men to join this branch of our union." "Well," he said, "things have gone badly, ——— has muddled affairs." I said, "What has ——— to do with the principle of trades unionism ? If it was important that you should stand side by side five or six years ago and form a great solid rock and say to the shipowners, 'Thus far shall you go and no farther ; we have a right to a certain wage'—if the principle was right then it is sound now, and no fault or blunder of ——— can alter the fundamental principles of trades unionism." And so if you know some clergymen who are unworthy of the name of clergymen, it does not alter the principles of the Church that they belong to. (Cheers.) Go up to the man if you like and take him by the coat and say, "Look here, I want to shake you up to your position." (Laughter and cheers.) Say, if you like, that he is bringing disgrace on a great institution with a glorious record. Tell him all that, but do not attempt to think that his inconsistency alters the broad principles of the National Church of which he is a member.

Just one other point. It is this, that an Established Church does mean time and wealth and leisure for the production of books. I may be speaking wrongly, but I do feel very strongly that if we were to disestablish and disendow the Church of England we should undermine a security which gives a large amount of time to men in our University settlements to produce great thoughts and write great books. You cannot afford to despise culture. Who does the "bossing" in the ranks of the working men to-day ? It is not the fool. It is the working man who has got most culture and brain power in his head. Where are they going to get this culture if you weaken the thing that is producing it ? I believe that that would happen if this Church of England was disestablished and disendowed. The poorest in the land are going to feel it the most. (Cheers.) We have been holding, and everybody here holds, I suppose, that the poorest should have a large share in a great many of the good things which God has sent. I hold that the rapture of art, and literature, and music ought to be brought down to the doorstep of every man and every woman as far as it possibly can. Why in our county council we so thought of the little ones that a couple of us moved a resolution that we should get some truck-loads of sand from the sea-side and fix them down on a plot of ground in a bit of park which we have got, and have it so arranged that the little children of the dockers could get their penny spades and pails and go and dig over the sand in our park—(cheers)—just the same, you know, as the Bishop's little youngsters can play down on Brighton beach. (Great laughter.) That is very democratic, but it is very right that the poorest and the weakest should have a share in the

best. Follow me now. If this Church of England is disestablished and disendowed, the money which it can now afford to plant down men of power and men of culture in a slum or in a village will not be available; and if that system does not exist, what system will come about? Now I am not going to say a word against Dissenters, but I am going to speak about their system. The men that are the attractive men of Dissent are men that can be bought up by the big churches, and the small people and the village people have to put up with the worst class of Nonconformist ministers to-day. (Cheers.) I do not mean, of course, the worst class morally or the worst class spiritually, but the worst class intellectually and powerfully. If a man has got the gift of attracting a big crowd he does not preach in a little chapel in the slums. He gets away up to the City Temple. (Laughter and cheers and voices, "Three cheers for Parker.") My point is that under the present system the Church is putting some men not very far off from Parker into our slums and into our villages—men of real power.

Just one point, and I have done. ("Go on.") I believe that very largely this question of disestablishment and disendowment that has been floating about in the air is a red herring drawn all across your path and absolutely nothing else. I believe it to be a red herring of the Conservative and Liberal capitalists in the House of Commons, because they know that if they did not bring up something, just the same as Home Rule was brought up, they could not block the way for real labour legislation. You are going to have labour legislation delayed. I know what I am talking about very well. (Cheers.) I say this. (Interruption and a hiss, and cries of "Order.") Now look here; the Bishop told you that you can come and talk directly I have done. I give my word that I will not hiss anything that you say. You may say what you like. Just let me make myself clear. I say that disestablishment and disendowment if it were passed to-morrow would not mean three ounces of bacca a week more to a single fellow. That question of pensions for old age or of better methods than we have now got of dealing with our poor; those are the bread-and-butter questions of the time. Such questions as employment for the unemployed in our cities are questions for you. Then there is the question of what you are going to do with your men who are over fifty. All up and down the country the factories say, "Owing to the competitive system we cannot take them on over fifty." The municipalities say, "We cannot put men on the roads over fifty because they are too weak." Yet where is the statesman who is going to say, "I will find a solution for this?" That is the bread-and-butter politics, and that is the sort of politics that you want. Yes, and as long as these questions of disestablishment and disendowment are going to be put in the front to stir up and split up the country, real democratic legislation is going to be blocked and hindered.

So I say to you working-men, you know what it is to toil hard, and go home with sweaty hands and black faces, and tired and weary, and go into houses where you have only two or three rooms. You do not know what it is when the baby cries to say, "Take the baby into the nursery." (Laughter and cheers.) As a married man, I have very great pity for the working-man when the youngster is cutting his teeth, and is crying all night, and the father has got to be up at six o'clock. Whether he has had a good night or a bad night, he has to get up and go out to his work. Legislation that will tend to make your condition easier, and remove some of the hard crusts of your life, is the legislation that I am going to support. (Cheers.) My point is, do not stand outside and criticise. Anybody can do that. We have got faults, but come inside and help us to make it a more practical Church. I remember a gnat fly one hot day seeing a horse pull a load up a hill, and it went and stung him. That did not help the horse. Some persons are like gnat flies. Some of her bishops wish that they could make the Church more popular, and they would be glad of your help, and you simply sting them. Come and be baptised if you have not been. That is the initial service. Come and be baptised, just as you would join the Foresters or some other brotherhood, and then say, "I am a member of this association, my Lord Bishop, and I claim my right to have a voice in the government of this community." (Cheers.) Then make it a bigger Church. Make it more brotherly and more national, but on economic, patriotic, and religious grounds do not disestablish and disendow the English Church. (Cheers.)

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A SECOND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WELSH CHURCH.

WORKING-MAN: Good evening. I've been talking to our friend "Liberal" since I saw you last, and he's made me see things a good bit different about that Church in Wales.

CHURCHWARDEN: Oh, has he? How was that?

WORKING-MAN: Well, in the first place, when I asked him why you should treat Wales separately, he said that of course you should, because Wales is a nation, and that the Welsh people are quite unlike us English in many ways.

CHURCHWARDEN: Yes, and what then?

WORKING-MAN: Why, that if the Welsh Church was part of the English Church, as you say, it could not, of course, be the Welsh National Church.

CHURCHWARDEN: Why not?

WORKING-MAN: Well, I suppose he meant because we made them have it whether they liked it or not.

CHURCHWARDEN: Oh, that's why, is it? I am afraid "Liberal" has not read very deep, or has been taken in by some flash stories written to order. Evidently he doesn't know that the Church in Wales is older than it is in any part of the Kingdom, and that, if the Church is national anywhere, it should be in Wales. But the greatest Liberal living, Mr. Gladstone, would tell him, as he told the House of Commons four years ago, that "we might really speak with as much justice of the Church of Wales in England, as of the Church of England in Wales."

WORKING-MAN: Did he really, now? I must remember and tell "Liberal" that; he thinks a lot of Mr. Gladstone. Still, even if this Church is the National Church of the old Welsh people, isn't it fair that those who live in Wales now should be able to get rid of the Church if they want?

CHURCHWARDEN: Well I am not sure about that. It is a serious thing to break up any old institution, and most of all a great religious institution like the

Church without some very good cause. What did he say about this?

WORKING-MAN: That for fifteen years Wales has, through her Members, demanded Disestablishment, and that to-day, out of 34 Members, 31 are for it and only 3 against it.

CHURCHWARDEN: Was that really the best reason he could give? That for fifteen years people in Wales have been asking for Disestablishment? And the Church has been there fifteen hundred years!

WORKING-MAN: But if the majority of people want it, however old the Church is, and however much good it has done in the past, I suppose they ought to have their way.

CHURCHWARDEN: Perhaps. But are you sure that a majority *does* want it? Remember this: There are 314,540 voters in Wales. At the last election, in 1892, while 145,518 voted for Disestablishment, 86,883 voted against it, and 81,839 did not vote at all. That doesn't look like a majority for Disestablishment. Every year, too, the Church is growing stronger and more valued—no one denies that—and probably, in this Election which is now coming on, you will see a very great change in the votes of the Welsh about it. And would it not be a terrible thing to rob the Church of her money just when it is most needed? It's none too much, either; less than £200 a year for each parish.

WORKING-MAN: Well, I think you are right about that. Even if the greatest part of the Welsh people did want this money taken from the Church I don't see why the rest, who are quite content with things as they are, shouldn't be allowed to enjoy them; and then, as you say, it is not clear that the greatest part want Disestablishment now, and it certainly does not look as if they would ten years hence.

CHURCHWARDEN: I am glad to hear you say that. And now you see, too, what nonsense it is to talk of the State having picked the Church out for recognition and establishment. The Church was here long before the State, and of course long before any of these sects had ever been heard of. A Dissenter has in fact no grievance against the Church. He or his fathers left the Church of their own free will. They can go back

to it any time they please, as thousands are doing every year in Wales.

WORKING-MAN: I am beginning to think that my first thoughts were right, and that "Liberal" did not know as much about the subject, as he wanted me to think. Tell me, now, is it true, as he said, that "Tithes were granted originally by the State"?

CHURCHWARDEN: It is absolutely untrue.

WORKING-MAN: Then what is the truth?

CHURCHWARDEN: Simply this; that in the early days of the Church, landowners devoted a tenth part of the produce of their land to the maintenance of the Church, and that in later times the State secured the payment to the Church.

WORKING-MAN: Is it correct, then, to talk of tithe as "national property."

CHURCHWARDEN: No, it is not. In the words of the great historian, Professor Freeman, "Church property is not national property except in the same sense in which all property is national property."

WORKING-MAN: Then according to that, the State has just as much right to take the property of the Church, as the property of a hospital or of a railway company?

CHURCHWARDEN: Just as much, and no more.

WORKING-MAN: Now tell me something more. I had an idea that it was once proposed to take away not only the tithes and other property but also the parish churches, and that then these might have been sold and turned into barns, or even music halls; but, when I mentioned this to "Liberal," he got very angry, and thumped his stick, and declared it was "a deliberate lie."

CHURCHWARDEN: Did he now? Well I often notice that when people are not quite sure of their facts, they use strong language. But your memory was not very much at fault. *The Liberation Society*, which is the society for liberating the Church of all that belongs to it, *did recommend*—and not so very long ago—that the ratepayers of any parish should have power to deal with the churches, and if they pleased to sell them for any purpose whatever.

WORKING-MAN: If you have got a copy of those proposals, I should like to show them to my angry friend, and see what he had to say. Perhaps he never heard of them. But the late Government did not propose such things in their Bill for Wales, did they?

CHURCHWARDEN: No, they didn't, and nobody ever accused them of it. Even if they had wished it, they would not have dared, because people were so indignant when they read of these proposals of the Liberation Society, and of some other ideas, almost as wicked, of the chief Welsh Nonconformist, Mr. Gee, that they said it would not do.

WORKING-MAN: Well, I am quite convinced it would be utterly wrong to rob the Church of her endowments, which belong to her as much as the potatoes on my allotment do to me; but still, if it did happen, the Nonconformists in Wales manage very well, and the Church, which has so many rich people in her, ought to manage, too.

CHURCHWARDEN: Yes, and so she would in time. But there would be a very hard struggle for many years, and many good works would have to be given up, and the poor and the sick and the aged, for whom the Church does so much now, would all be sufferers.

WORKING-MAN: That's bad, indeed; but, just one thing more—at least the Clergyman and the Church Services would always be there, wouldnt they?

CHURCHWARDEN: We could not be sure. Perhaps you don't know that in 700 parishes in Wales there is no resident Nonconformist minister. They can't support one. At present however there is always the Clergyman to turn to.

WORKING-MAN: Ah well! I hope it will always be so! After what you have told me, I can't think it would be right or wise to Disestablish and Disendow the Church. I shouldn't like it for our parish to have the tithes taken away to build a museum in London or Birmingham, which I understand is what they wanted to do in Wales, and to have no Clergyman to come and see me and the wife when we were ill or in trouble. And of course I won't vote for any man who will try it on in Wales.

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THE BITER BIT:

AN ANSWER TO

"A Dialogue about the Welsh Church."

Perplexed Voter: I say, have you read this dialogue about the Welsh Church? What do you think of it?

Enlightened Liberal: Frankly, there is something of "the wisdom of the serpent" in it, but more to hinder than to help a man to a righteous judgment.

P. V.: I should like to talk it over with you. There is the statement to begin with that "the Welsh are a nation."

E. L.: Yes; that's very clever. But don't you see that it begs the whole question? Who says the Welsh are a nation? I deny that the Welsh are a nation any more than we Lancashire folk. We have a good deal that is "distinctive" about us, and I have heard it said that What Lancashire thinks to-day England thinks to-morrow; but that does not give Lancashire a right to claim separate treatment, as we learned plainly enough over those Indian Cotton Duties.

P. V.: True. I think Lancashire is at least as important a part of the State as Wales.

E. L.: Besides there are more English-speaking people in Wales than there are Welsh-speaking, so that it is absurd to treat Wales as though it were inhabited by one race. It is as much English as Welsh.

P. V.: I see what you mean. It is not a sufficient reason that the Welsh ask for a thing. We have to consider their demand on its merits with reference to the general welfare.

E. L.: Then consider the statement that the Church in Wales is "only a part of the English Church, and therefore cannot be a Welsh National Church." If that be so, what right have the Welsh people to touch it? It is quite true that there is no separate and independent Welsh Church. If there were, the case for the Liberationist might be stronger. The truth is that England and Wales make up one nation, both politically and ecclesiastically; and the Welsh people have no more right to claim separate treatment on the question of the Church than on the question of the State. Whether a part of the Church of England and Wales shall be disestablished is for the whole people of England and Wales to decide, with due regard to the interests and wishes of the whole people, and not of a part.

P. V.: Your argument appeals to my common sense. We should certainly say so if the Welsh counties proposed to disestablish the Monarchy in Wales.

E. L.: Further, if the Church in Wales is not the Welsh National Church, what right have the Welsh people to its endowments? Is it not evident that these must belong to the Church of England? There is no logic in first demanding the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales because it is not National, and then claiming the endowments because the Church is National.

P. V.: I never thought of that. If the Welsh repudiate their share in the Church, they can hardly claim its property.

E. L.: The Dialogue begs the question again in its assertion that "the progress of the Church in Wales," which cannot be denied, is "not owing to its being established." Of course, it is not entirely owing to that, but can it be proved that "Establishment" has nothing to do with it? As well might I say that because some Protectionist nations flourish England cannot have thriven by her Free Trade.

P. V.: Besides, I have heard that the Church in Wales is making much more rapid progress than any of the sects.

E. L.: There is no doubt about it! And for this reason the Welsh Nonconformists will not hear of a Religious Census. In 1891 Mr. Gladstone said of the Church in Wales, "undoubtedly the Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and I hope very distinctly a rising Church." I have not heard any eminent statesman speak thus of either the Calvinists or the Independents in Wales.

P. V.: But what about the principle of "Religious Equality?"

E. L.: Ah! that's a phrase to conjure with. I simply deny that there is any religious inequality in Wales or England, and on their own showing the Nonconformists in Wales have flourished in spite of an Established Church. But notice the inconsistency of the Liberationist. In one breath he declaims against State recognition of the Church as a privilege offensive to his sentiment of "religious equality"; and in the next he declares that he wants to liberate the Church from the "shackles

of the State." **Establishment cannot be both a privilege and a chain.**

P. V.: To say that is truly absurd, and, I feel, insincere.

E. L.: Moreover, bear in mind that **the so-called privileges of the Church are common property.** No English or Welsh citizen is shut out from enjoying them if he will. **The Church's privileges** are simply **opportunities** secured to her **for rendering services to the people.** Every citizen has a Common Law right to avail himself of the privileges of the Church.

P. V.: Is that so? All citizens, then, have equal ecclesiastical rights already?

E. L.: Yes! The Church may be regarded as the nation's **"regular army" under national control,** and the Nonconformist bodies the **"auxiliary forces" under private control.** What would you say to the man who on behalf of the sentiment of equality advocated the **disestablishment of the Regular Army** in order to reduce it to the level of our Volunteer Regiments?

P. V.: I think I should look upon that man either as crazy or a fanatic.

E. L.: Moreover, it is not true to suggest that the State ever "selected for recognition and establishment any particular religion." **It is a clear historical fact that the Church became established in England and Wales during centuries when there was no other organized Christian body in these realms.** The sects have all sprung from the Church, and practically profess the same religion.

P. V.: Well, you have helped me to see that a national organization doing its work for the nation

without respect of persons, under the control of the State, **is not offending the principle of religious equality.** One might as well complain because a **policeman on duty wears a uniform** and is **specially protected** by the law against assault.

E. L.: Yes, he is a privileged citizen so long as he is doing his duty to the community.

P. V.: Now, tell me, is it correct to say that "tithes were not a freewill offering, but were granted originally by the State?"

E. L.: I can only say that **the highest authorities are dead against this assertion.** Can a single State document be produced thus granting tithes? The truth is, **tithes were held by the Church long before there was a State to give them.** Dr. Freeman says: "The Church preached the payment of tithes as a duty, and the State **gradually** came to enforce the duty by legal sanctions." But really the point is of little practical importance. Let us grant for a moment that the State gave the tithe, and ask two questions, viz.: (1) **Was the State compelled to grant the tithe,** or **did it give the tithe voluntarily?** and (2) **If the State gave the tithe as a free gift, why should the State take back its gift?**

P. V.: I see your point.

E. L.: Well, then, **why should the Church be disendowed?** This, at least, is not required by the principle of "Religious Equality." For it **would be unfair to allow any sect to keep its endowments whilst the Church was deprived.** We should have to disendow all round.

P. V.: That seems clear enough. But what about

the statement that "the moment the Church ceases to be national, it has no right to keep national funds?"

E. L.: This is a very plausible statement. Don't you see everything depends upon what you mean by "ceasing to be national," and by "national funds"? If the Church had been created by the State, and endowed out of national funds, there might be some force in the statement. But **the State did not create the Church, nor endow it.** The endowments which are claimed as national property were given to the Church **before it became established by law,** and are only national so long as the nation recognizes and protects the Church as its national organ of religion. The **endowments** are like a **woman's dowry.** What should we say of a man who not only talked of separating from his wife, but claimed her private fortune on the ground that during their married life he had protected it as well as enjoyed it?

P. V.: Yes; so that even granting all the Liberationist assumes, the State might still be decently just to its faithful spouse.

E. L.: Now notice how the "dialogue" deals with **the proper reluctance of honest men to run any risk of the desecration of sacred buildings.** How indignant is our "Liberal!" But is there much difference between **taking the Churches** (only bricks and mortar set apart for sacred uses) to turn them into museums, &c., and **taking the endowments dedicated to the purpose of maintaining these buildings** and providing them with ministers to perform sacred rites, and using these endowments to build museums, &c.?

P. V.: I really don't see much difference in effect.

E. L.: And how contemptible is the way in which

our friend deals with the question of Compensation to Curates. **Because** (as he alleges, but does not prove) some rogues got hold of the Irish Church endowments, **therefore, honest hard-working Welsh clergymen, who perhaps spent their patrimony in preparing themselves for Holy Orders are to be cast adrift without the least consideration.** But this is quite in keeping with Welsh Liberationism, which, when the Welsh clergy were **being robbed** by Welshmen **through the tithe war,** never raised a word of protest against the **dishonesty** of their countrymen who put into their own pockets what was due to other men.

P. V.: That was a shameful business, and will remain a blot upon Welsh Nonconformity, which, when its sons made themselves vile, like Eli of old, restrained them not. But what have you to say to the assertion that disendowment will not be a blow to religion "because the churchfolk of Wales can support their Church as well as Nonconformists do theirs."

E. L.: No doubt they will. But the Welsh people generally will suffer. **A great deal of money now given** to all kinds of philanthropic institutions **must be withdrawn** to replace the endowments. Do you know that during the past 50 years **more than £250,000 has been raised by the Church in Wales** for hospitals and such institutions, and only £24,000 by all the Nonconformists? In the year 1892, Church people subscribed £11,000 for the maintenance of these public charities as compared with only £3,000 subscribed by Nonconformists.

P. V.: You surprise me, and it is evident that most of this liberality must be diverted and lost to the general public to make up for Disendowment.

E. L.: That is certain. And the poor would be the greatest losers. But I must go. Only in conclusion let me say this: Does it not strike you as a far more sensible and patriotic thing for us to do as citizens not to part with our possession of this great and priceless Institution? At present the ancient and historic Church of England and Wales in a very real sense belongs to the People. Denationalize and deprive the Church of its resources, and the Church, which can never be destroyed by Act of Parliament passes out of the hands of the nation. One would imagine it to be the last thing prudent and country-loving people would wish to do. It is the surrender of a National Institution conferring equal rights and privileges upon all citizens, and at present under the control of the people through Parliament, which, as Matthew Arnold once said, is "the great national society for the propagation of goodness," which is capable of being made in the future still more than in the past a splendid and God-given agency for the public weal. I am lost in wonder that even Nonconformists should be ready to give up their part in the Church of England. Their wisdom is to keep their hold upon it, to reform it, and to make it truly comprehensive and still more national.

P. V.: I am greatly obliged to you. You have convinced me that, as a sensible and patriotic Englishman and Christian, I must withhold my vote from any candidate who refuses to pledge himself to vote against the Policy of Disestablishment and Disendowment.

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WHY WE BELONG TO THE CHURCH.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS, EXETER, OCTOBER, 1894.

BY

ALDERMAN PHILLIPS,

(WEST HAM)

Member of the County Council.

TWENTY-FIFTH THOUSAND.

London:

THE CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION,

9, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WHY WE BELONG TO THE CHURCH.

I AM very grateful to Mr. Bickersteth for so kindly clearing the way for me. He has said a good deal that I should not have said half as well, therefore it will save me the time of trying to do so. I am standing here as a very plain, simple layman, just a young business man, too busy to study Church history and that sort of thing, but at the same time a Churchman. I am a Churchman from principle. You know that if you are merely a Churchman from preference, you may become something else from preference next week or the week after. We ought to have an anchor away deep down beneath the water, an anchor that holds us. The anchor and the chains are out of sight; but it is there, and it holds us when the winds and the waves beat upon us.

I will give you one or two reasons why I am a Churchman. First of all, I am a Churchman because I believe that the Church of England is God's true Church as founded by Christ and his Apostles. I remember, that down at the town hall of West Ham, where I live, I was turning over the plans of some houses in our borough, and I came upon the plan of a house that I happened to live in. The plan was a bit old and worn, but I was extremely interested. I had lived in the house for some years, but I had never seen a plan. But here it was. It showed such and such an air space; windows in such a position, and so on. I thought a good deal more of the house afterwards because I had seen the plan, you know. I am in the Church of England; and I turn over the New Testament and the pages of early history, and I find the plan of the very building that I live in. I was in the building before I had seen the plan; but I was much interested when I found the plan, with bishops, priests, and the other features of the building, drawn out by hands that were Divine.

I believe in the building because it fits the plan, and because the plan fits the building. Another point. I am a Churchman because I believe in unity, and I find at bottom a larger amount of unity in the Church of England than in any other religious organization in England. Why? You say, "You differ pretty freely you chaps." Very likely, but at bottom, on the fundamentals, we are at one.

I remember being in the garden of a friend of mine who goes in for fowls a good deal and keeps them. I was standing in his fowl-yard watching the fowls. Presently he said to me, "That is a good brood, only just come off." They were just two or three days old, or perhaps more—black fowls and white fowls and grey fowls. They were pecking a bit at one another, but they all belonged to one mother, and they all went back to the mother-fowl however they differed in colour. So you see that though some of us Churchmen may differ as to colours and that sort of thing, believe me, my brethren, we are at one on the great fundamentals. There is unity in the foundations upon which we are built. May I put it another way? I had the honour and pleasure of dining with your Bishop to-day. I do not know which I enjoyed most, the dinner or the lovely way in which it was laid. The flowers were so beautiful, and the soft light upon the table and the fruit, it was all very lovely. But I did not get the strength which enables me to speak to you from the beauty of the table. I got it from the food that I ate. If I had gone to the home of one of you working-men and you had invited me to dinner, and we had gone and sat down in the back kitchen together, and your wife had spread a clean tablecloth over the deal table, and put down some bread and Devonshire butter and a cup of tea and a rasher of bacon, I should have enjoyed the dinner perhaps as much, and got as much nutriment from it, though it was simpler in the surroundings and the appointments. Of course I am only just a simple layman, but I may prefer a certain amount of surroundings and appointments in connection with a service. That is a matter of preference; but the fundamental food is the prayer, the creed, the faith. I get that in the Church of England, and you cannot touch it. We depend upon the food—the prayer, the creeds, the sacraments. All those things about which we differ are simply the laying of the table, the non-essentials. The big part, the food that helps me to live a true, a pure life, are in the Church independently of the other things. I am a Churchman because, to me the Church is a unity.

I remember that soon after the Dockers' Union was formed, I had the honour of being president of a large branch of over three thousand men down by the Victoria Docks, and the question was raised that the dockers should have one executive and one simple fund. I opposed it, and the men down in our district opposed it. They thought it better to keep their own funds and just be a branch. One of the men, Tom Mann, came down to see me in my dining-room. Tom held up an ideal of unity, and showed what a real trade union might be, where the strong would not trample down the weak—because he was a brother member of his union he would stand by him; and he said that there would not be struggling and pushing and driving. It was a beautiful ideal of unity, and as Tom held up to me that ideal, I said, "Take your fund. Strike out my name

from this branch. There must be unity if there is power." As Tom's voice dies away, I pause.

I want to take you to another scene. I want to take you down the years that are gone. There, in an upper room in Jerusalem are gathered a handful of men; men whose brows are knit, whose hearts are beating for fear, but they cannot tell why; and there is One kneeling in their midst. Listen to Him. It is the Christ of God. Hear His prayer. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word: that they all may be one; as Thou, Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are one." Oh, the oneness of Christ and God. It is indissoluble. And Christ wants me to be as near to God as He is: "One; even as We are One; I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be perfect in one; and that the world may know that Thou has sent Me, and hast loved them as Thou hast loved Me." I want you to turn from that scene with those words in your ears, those words of the prayer of Christ when Calvary was looming before Him, and He was pleading for unity and oneness. Turn from the upper chamber in Jerusalem and look out, and what do you see to-day? Christendom in fragments. I ask you, is that the ideal that Christ prayed for and yearned for? A chapel here and a chapel there; Christians broken up and disunited, and too often quarrelling and bickering with one another. I am not here to say a word about Dissenters who are old enough to be my fathers, and many of them better men than I am, men leading true and earnest lives. As a young man, I have no right to come here and say a word to you against such men. I have seen the beautifulness of the lives of many Dissenters; but as a Churchman I have a right to say to them, "I do not think that your system is the best system." I have a right to attack the system if I think it a weak system and a wrong system, although I do not touch the man. I say, then, that this division is weakness: these three hundred sects, and the number ever increasing. Unity is strength. Too often there is competition. I have seen it and you have seen it. Here is a chapel in a village and it can hold all the men that are Dissenters in that village, and then there is another started almost like a rival shop, and there is competition. These things ought not to be done in the name of Christianity. It ought to be something better and higher than that. And do you not think that very often competition means adulteration. I mean this. I have noticed in some of the smaller chapels that the men whom they have to be satisfied with as their leaders, though they are good, earnest men, are essentially intellectually weak men. They are not the men that can give the biggest and the best thoughts to the poor man. I do not want to boast about the Church; but I do suggest that we put in the slums and in the village men of high education and of high culture and high standing. We want to give the best to the poorest as well as give the best to the richest.

Then again, I belong to the Church because of its sufficiency to produce the highest form of spiritual life. Some of you men who

have not looked at your Prayer-books for a good long while, would you mind taking them down when you go home to-night; and if any of you have not got one, ask the nearest Churchman to lend you his. He will be very glad to do so. I was talking to a man who had left the Church and joined the Salvation Army, because, as he said, "I can get an inspiration for a higher life." I opened my Prayer-book and tied him down to the baptismal vow. "There," I said, "you swear until life's end you will fight the world, the flesh, and the devil, and be Christ's soldier. Where can you get an higher consecration than that? And then your confirmation ratified what had been said And there is your holy communion resolution. What are you saying every Sunday morning? How it inspires us!" Now, you dear men who want to get to a higher spiritual life, listen to me. Do you know anything capable of producing a higher life than this: "We here present to Thee, O God, ourselves, our souls, our bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and a living sacrifice"? Did you ever stand before Doré's picture of the "Martyr"? That was swift martyrdom. He is hurled into the arena. There is one weak cry of agony, and the martyr is dead. Ours is a living sacrifice—day in, day out; week in, week out; year in, year out; and we do not meet it with a pale and quivering and shrinking face, but we meet it with a smile for the glory that is set before us; the glory of sacrificing ourself for somebody else. Have you not caught that glory? Have not you done something for some poor shivering child, and the little one has gone away too quickly to thank you, to spend the money. You have talked to the drunkard and got him to be a sober man, and you have seen him going on day after day and month after month, climbing back to the pedestal of dignity he stood upon before, and his wife has taken you by the hand and said, "Thank God for what you have done. You could not have given me money, but you have given me back the man I love" Is not that one of the joys of self sacrifice? I find all the inspiration for such deeds as those in my Church and my Church service.

Then I am a Churchman because I find that the liturgical form of service of the Church is free of the moods of the minister. Yes, there is a great deal in that. I remember going once with my father, who was a Dissenter, to a chapel to hear a celebrated preacher whom my father wanted me very much to hear. It was about a month after I had came home with my wife from my honeymoon. All life was bright and beautiful to me. I had just married the woman whom I had chosen out of all the realm of womankind to be my wife. I had started in business, and life was stretching out before me very beautifully. I had lived on the mountain top for the last few weeks, and I went up to that chapel with my heart full of joy. I wanted to thank God. I wanted to sing. I wanted to rush to Him like a little child would go to his father, who had given him some present, and say: "Thank you, father, I am so happy." I went with my father to the chapel, and the minister came into the pulpit—poor man; straight from a bedroom where he had left his darling child dying, straight from the chamber of sickness and death. It was his only child. The music of his life seemed to be going out, and the whole

service was sadness and gloom. The first opening prayer led us to Gethsemane, and all the while through the prayer, the hymn, the sermon, it was one deep wrestling to say, "Thy will be done." We were all dominated by the mood of the man, and I went back again and thought, "That is bad." Here are men busy all the week through, with little time to spare for quiet communion with God. The only quiet hour they get in the seven days is the one they get on the Sunday morning. It is an all-precious time. Soon they will be back again in the strife and storm of temptation, facing the sorrows and disappointments of life, and that is the one time they get for inspiration and hope, and it is an awful thing if the man up there is to dominate them by the mood that he happens to be in. So I say we are independent of the mood of the minister. I happened to go to church shortly after Kier Hardie was returned for our constituency in West Ham. The clergyman was in an awful temper. I would not have faced him for anything in the vestry alone that day. He began the service and it went on. He could only pelt at us from the pulpit. That was all. We were independent of his anger. He could not touch the prayers; he could not touch the Psalms. He could not if he wanted to. He could not touch the Communion Service, with all its help and all its beauty; because with its liturgical service, and the way in which our Church service is arranged, we are independent of the mood of the man who has to minister to us.

Then I am a member of the Church of England because of its position. I believe it to be the greatest power—or rather it has the capability of becoming the greatest power—for producing religious force in our land to-day. I feel that very strongly. I say that the Church has the power and the capacity of becoming the productive and driving force of the religious life of to-day in a way that no other organization can be. All these social movements are going to be no good at all unless you can put them upon a real religious basis. I know what I am talking about, men. I organised the coal porters up in London to form a co-operative society. I believed that if they did the work themselves, and tendered to load ships themselves, and saved up enough money to buy the gear and pay the wages among themselves, they could tender, and the middleman would be gone. There would be, then, no difficulty about strikes and prices. They would be their own masters. I said, "But you have got to save for awhile and build up your finances." They caught at the idea. They saved up money—about £200—and put it into my hands; and then, one Saturday, work had been bad, and some of the men went about, and they met together and passed a resolution to draw the money and share it out at the rate of five shillings a man, and they did so, and the beautiful ideal burst in my hand. Why? Because there was no religion in the men. They were selfish men. They wanted to get at the five bob and fool it away. I believe that unless you can permeate these social movements with the unselfishness of the spirit of Christ, that is going to happen in a much larger degree than you think of. So then, I say, that this Church, of which you and I are members, has the power to become the force which is going to make all these movements beautiful and permanent. Think of the position of the Church of

England as a National and Historic Church. Ah, there is something in that. Look here, men, you that are wanting the disestablishment and disendowment of our Church, do you think when you have done it that you are going to do away with the history of the Church? It is just going to be the same old Church then that it is to-day. You cannot do away with the history; you cannot do away with its age. If I happen to be my father's eldest son, can you, by any juggling, make my younger brother as old as I am?

You will fail in your object if you think you are going to get any advantage simply by disestablishing the Church. Another word. I hold that the Church of England has a tremendous power because of its influence with the aristocracy and the culture and the wealth of our land. It is no good to go beating about the bush. You cannot do without money and without sympathy, and without influence. We must have them. I am not toadying down to anybody at all. I am simply saying that here is an organization that is in touch with a very large proportion of the men of our land who are influential and important, and it is important that we should be in touch with the organization which is in touch with them. Again, think of the educational influence of the Church of England to-day. Think of its schools, its colleges, its universities, and of how it is sending out men who are dominating the thoughts of others to a degree that you do not understand. Then, its power simply as a social and moral influence cannot be tabulated. You cannot put down on paper and in figures what the Church is doing with its temperance organization, with its rescue work, with its homes for waifs and strays, and by its other various organizations. There are a few things that you can tabulate. You can say that the Church of England has about seventy-five thousand clergymen and mission workers devoting their whole time to the business. The Church has, I suppose, sitting accomodation for something like six millions of people. Last year it wrote a cheque for a million of money towards repairing churches and building new ones. It finds some work for the unemployed with that million of money. In spends a million of money for education. I want you to think about it. I know something about what the School Board rate costs. In South-west Ham our School Board rate is nearly two shillings in the pound. We have not much valuable property there to rate. I want you working-men who think about floating a School Board in your parish to put that in your pipe and smoke it. The Church wrote a cheque for £25,000 last year for the hospitals. It gave £150,000 to charities. I do not say that because it is doing all this therefore you have got to belong to it; but I do say, when it doing all this, what do you, as social reformers, want to go up and down quarrelling with it for? If you will not help it along, what do you want to oppose it for? By your social improvements you want to make life better to those who are hardest up You working-men have to work very hard, and you know what it is to take small wages and find it hard to make both ends meet, and you look at your little children and you think, sometimes, "Are they to have the same hard struggle that I have? Is life to grow darker as it grows nearer the end? Are they always to have public-houses at the corners of the street they

live in, and have no voice to say that they do not want them at the corners? Are these things to go on for ever?" Now I believe that they will not; that better conditions will come. But while you are interfering and wasting your time in talking about disestablishment and disendowment, you are stopping the way for these social reforms. You are allowing a red herring to be drawn across the path of social questions which are far more important to you. I have nothing to gain or lose by saying this. Financially it will not make any difference to me; but I believe that the state of the men whom I most know of, the working-classes, will suffer by pressing on this question of disestablishment. Therefore I ask you to pause and think it over. The point is not quarrelling with the Church and abusing it and flinging mud at it; the point for you working-men is to go in and capture the wealth of finance and the wealth of education and the wealth of spiritual impulse which that Church gives, and use it for the development of your ends and the development of your minds. You have only to slip the band of your social movement round the fly-wheel of the National Church and let it drive your movements with a religious force without having to pay the toll. If the Church is doing this for me, why should I go outside and join something else?

Down at West Ham we have a football club. I was talking to the members the other day, and I said to them, "I wonder you do not light your field up by electric light. Then the men could play football on fine evenings instead of only being able to play on Saturdays. Surely it would keep them out of the public-houses if it did nothing else." And one man said, "Well, it will cost a good deal for us to put up an engine and set the thing going." I said, No; look. Two hundred yards away from here there is the Thames Ironworks. They have the electric light. You have only got to pay for the installation and you can get connected, and they will drive it, and you need not put up an engine of your own. Now here is a Church producing high-toned spiritual life and doing good. Why should I want to go and pay to run another little electric light in my field? Well, we have our faults very likely. A man came to my house to tune my piano the other day. It was awfully out of tune. The notes had run down all through; but when he came and tried the piano he did not say to it, "You have a lot of faults and I shall have nothing to do with you." He tuned it up till it rang out beautiful music, and when I saw him at work I thought, "That is what I have got to do. Here is a clergyman who is not doing his duty; here is a layman not quite up to the mark: I want to try to tone them up so that they may bring out beautiful music." You are frittering your time away when you might be doing better. This is the work that lies before us. Let us set to work and tone one another up until our lives ring out one great big pæan of music, inspiring and ennobling those with whom we come into contact, so that their lives shall be better because we live.

DISESTABLISHMENT

AND

DISENDOWMENT:

A PAPER

READ AT THE

Lincoln Diocesan Conference,

ON

Wednesday, October 17th, 1894,

BY THE

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DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT.

Disestablishment and Disendowment are ambiguous terms, that may mean much or little, and it is sometimes convenient to the politician to leave them in obscurity. He can then proclaim that he is for "religious equality," for resuming possession of "national property," and so on, without stating distinctly what is meant in practice. It is our business to put an end to this ambiguity, and to set before ourselves and others what the consequences will be if the attack on the Church Establishment could succeed. I connect Disendowment with Disestablishment because it is certain you will never have the one without the other. The late Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, put it concisely enough (13th Sept., 1892) in addressing his Welsh supporters on the slopes of Snowdon :—"With Disestablishment of course Disendowment goes" (see *The National Church* for 1892, p. 298). In truth no sane politician would propose to dismiss Churchmen—about three-fourths of the nation—to organise themselves independently of the national legislature, and to regulate doctrine, discipline, and worship at their discretion, without having first crippled the Church as far as he can by robbing her as much as he dare. If he turn her out of doors he will turn her out naked. But in truth what the Liberationist cares for is Disendowment. If it were not for the Church's property he would care nothing about Disestablishment. Indeed this is now frankly admitted, and need not be argued any more. Take, for instance, the following from *The Christian World*, the most extensively circulated and representative of Dissenting newspapers. It declares, in its issue of May 5th, 1892, that "the very name of 'Liberation' Society is perhaps a survival showing how times have changed since it was founded. For it must be confessed that large numbers of the supporters of the movement are now more interested in the liberation of national funds from their present wasteful application than in the liberation of religion from State patronage and control. Thus, if there be a gain in the support now given by secular-minded politicians, on the other hand it must be freely conceded that there is some loss in the decay of the fervent Puritan convictions that once animated the Society."

This surely is a noteworthy and rather cynical declaration. Observe the use of property for religious purposes is stigmatised as "wasteful." And mark again that the all talk we have heard for so many years

about the rights of conscience, freeing religion from bondage to the State, and so on, is now coolly disavowed. It has served its purpose. The mask is thrown off, and we see that what is really aimed at is appropriation of church money. We can also see why some worthy Dissenting ministers—the late Rev. C. H. Spurgeon for instance—have repudiated the Liberation Society. They will not associate with secularists and unbelievers to harass a Christian Church. And let me say here that, if at any time I use strong words, I do not apply them to Dissenters as such. There are good and godly Dissenters, and many of them are not Liberationists. And there are many Liberationists who do not deserve to be called Dissenters, but are Agnostics, or at best, mere Deists. Nor am I here to deny or depreciate the services which Dissenters have in past time rendered to the cause of religion—more especially the Wesleyans in Lincolnshire. As a Lincolnshire man myself, one who has heard from his father what was the condition of things in some parts of this county a century ago, I avow that there were parishes in which the light of the Gospel would almost have gone out but for the Wesleyan Methodists. Would to God that they would have been content to remain still, as that zealous Lincolnshire man their founder placed them, home mission auxiliaries of the Church. But I do feel justified in using words of strong condemnation when I refer to those who make it a leading plank in their political platform to despoil the Church of her inheritance.

We have now before us a Government Scheme for effecting that as regards the four Welsh Dioceses of the Province of Canterbury. The Bill, which is to be re-introduced early in the next Session of Parliament, confiscates at one swoop the whole of the tithe and glebe lands of the Church in those Dioceses, subject only to life-interests. The tithes are to be applied to technical and higher education, parish halls and libraries, hospitals, and such like purposes. The glebe lands are to be handed over to Parish Councils, and so are the consecrated churchyards. The property in the four Cathedrals is to be made over to the Welsh Commissioners—three in number—two of them to draw large salaries out of the disinherited Church, and these Commissioners can regulate without appeal the use of the Cathedrals. The Welsh Bishops are to be dismissed from the House of Lords, and they, and also the representatives of the Clergy, both elected and official, are to be banished from Convocation. The Curates are cut adrift without any compensation or consideration whatever.

So much for the destructive provisions of the Bill. Now for the constructive. The Welsh Dioceses are to constitute themselves apart from the English Church, and to do so singly or unitedly as they please. There is to be "a representative body." to be

incorporated by charter, which shall hold such property as is left to the Church or what property she may acquire. All benefactions made by individuals since 1703 are to remain; these, however, only amount to about £13,000 a year. The churches are to remain; so also are the parsonages, because it was found on inquiry that at least two-thirds of the cost of them had been paid by the Clergy themselves or their friends. One wonders why the same argument should not hold as regards the Cathedrals: for it appeared by statements made in the House of Commons that over £120,000 had been expended on them out of the voluntary contributions of churchmen since 1840. A very significant conversation took place about this matter in the House of Commons on 7th June last. The Home Secretary was asked to give full particulars as to amounts spent on the Welsh Cathedrals during the present century, and to specify what amounts had come from national funds and what from voluntary gifts. He gave some particulars as regards the latter, but no information was forthcoming as regards public monies. In short, it was apparent that no national funds whatever had at any time, so far as could be discovered, been expended upon the Welsh Cathedrals. Take St. David's, which was early in the century in ruins. More than £43,000 has been laid out on it. The venerable Dean has for many years given to it the whole of his official income. Llandaff Cathedral, fifty years ago, was roofless, and had been so for 100 years or more. What do we find now? A beautifully restored and equipped Cathedral, a building overflowing with worshippers thrice every Sunday, in place of the lonely wreck of half-a-century ago. It is a well understood principle surely that liability to repair goes with ownership. If the Cathedrals are to be claimed as "national monuments," why did not the nation re-instate them and maintain them? Why, when churchmen and churchwomen only have generation after generation laid out their money and saved these venerable fanes from becoming national ruins, is the claim of churchmen to ownership of them denied? Here surely is flagrant injustice.

This Bill ought to be studied by us all, because it is, and indeed professes to be, only an instalment. It sets out the lines on which, if once enacted, an attempt will next be made to deal with the English establishment. The iniquitous provision about the Welsh Cathedrals is really levelled against Lincoln Minster and Westminster Abbey. The Liberationist hopes to bring the Church to her knees to ask permission of Parliamentary Commissioners to celebrate the Divine Mysteries in these venerable and holy fanes on which for many years past churchmen have gladly lavished their substance. The attack is

made on the Church in Wales because that is deemed our weakest point. Observe, there is no parallel between disestablishing the Church in Wales and the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland. Nor is there any parallel between the attempt on the Church in Wales and that on the Scottish Kirk. Ireland had its own Church and its own legislature up to 1800, and the Churches and Parliaments were united merely by Act of Parliament. Scotland, too, is an ancient kingdom, and her Church never was in any way incorporated with ours. The Church in Wales was never by any legislative act united to the Church of England, because Wales is a part of the Kingdom of England, and the Church in Wales is part of the Church of England, just as much as is the Church in Lincolnshire. And note the provision which seeks to dismember the Convocation. Is not that an encroachment upon our religious liberty? By what right does Parliament step in and say to the Metropolitan: "You shall not summon certain Bishops of your Province to deliberate with you about Church affairs?" It has been said that Parliament is omnipotent, that it can do everything except make a man into a woman and *vice versâ*. We churchmen, however, must hold that there are some other things which Parliament cannot do: and one of them is to break up the sacred synod of the Church; which synod existed, and had its representatives from Wales, long before the House of Commons came into being. And how is this provision about Convocations to be enforced? You know the Archbishop of Canterbury. Is he likely to lend himself to this encroachment on his spiritual jurisdiction? Rely upon it, that if this Bill were to pass the four Welsh Bishops and the Welsh Proctors also would be found in their places in Convocation as they have been for eight centuries past. Nothing would be left for the State except to send these prelates and their no less rebellious Clergy to gaol for breaking the law. A nice illustration of religious liberty! Bishops and Clergy incarcerated because they claim their right to deliberate with their spiritual brethren under the presidency of their ancient ecclesiastical superior!

What is intended by this Bill is to impoverish the Church in these four Dioceses; and to sever them thus fatally weakened from the main body of the Church of England, in the hope that in Wales at least she will slowly bleed to death. No pecuniary advantage would accrue to the ratepayer. If the Church in Wales abandoned her Voluntary Schools—which probably would of necessity ensue at once—the cost to the rates of providing for the 80,000 children in them, through the agency of School Boards, would far exceed the annual value of the tithes and glebes. These are only worth £125,000 a year net—for the Welsh Dioceses were shamefully robbed by the Tudor

princes. And even this sum will only become available by degrees, as the present incumbents die off.

And already we hear that on "the hills of the robbers" they are quarrelling about the spoil. For it appears that where there are huge masses of people—as in the colliery and mining districts of South Wales—there is not and never can be anything appreciable to come from the old church endowments; whilst on the other hand, in other parts, as Anglesey, where the endowments are considerable, there are very few people. Yet the Government proposes that each county shall keep its own share. However, the dispute is premature. The Welsh Church is not yet disendowed.

> "The hunter that did sell the lion's skin
> While the beast lived, was killed in hunting him."

But it is said the Bill is too monstrous to pass: it is merely a vote-catcher. Don't be too sure of that. If ever Liberationists are strong enough to carry Disestablishment at all, they will do so on their own lines. The Bill might be dangerous if not met with prompt, bold, unflinching resistance. I heartily hope that when it comes up again our friends in Parliament will withstand it clause by clause to the utmost, but will not try to mend it. If it is forced through the House of Commons, let it go to the House of Lords in its native repulsiveness, as a most wanton invasion of the rights of property, and also of religious liberty.

Now let us consider what would be the results to this nation supposing a scheme like that of the Welsh Bill were enacted by Parliament and became the law of the land for all England.

As a first consequence, national apostasy. This great and ancient people would proclaim to all men that it had no national religion; nay, more, that it once had a religion, but now abjures it. You cannot get out of this by rejoining that the United States might claim to be a Christian nation though there is no Church Establishment there. You must remember that the United States, that great combination, is really an agglomeration of originally independent States, which each still make their own State laws. However one might justly deny to them the name of Christian, if having once had a National Christian Church they had then disowned it. We have a Church which has been the basis of the nation's growth, the anvil on which the divers races dwelling of old on this island were welded into one. If we should now reject it and strip it of that which the gratitude and piety of our forefathers had bestowed, that would be apostasy complicated with sacrilege. When diverse and often hostile kingdoms divided this land amongst them, it

was the representatives from all these kingdoms meeting in one Synod in one place under one presidency, that first suggested the idea of a united England. Consider, with such a past history, what would be the effect on the civilised world if this practical English people should formally disavow religion, and accompany the act by plundering the Church which they had of old revered. That would surely mean not religious neutrality but rather war against the Christian faith.

How will you like to see religious observances banished from public life? Our national unity and majesty is represented by our Queen. And she like all her royal predecessors for eight or nine centuries has been anointed and crowned in a venerable abbey, with time-honoured prayers and stately ceremonies, which have been in substance unaltered from the time of Edward the Confessor to this day. They witness at once to the Catholicity of the Church and the Christianity of the State. But if we have no National Church the Sovereign may be of any religion or of none. We could not expect the Nonconformist conscience, that most unaccountable of organs, to tolerate such a function as our present Coronation Service, which includes a High Celebration and a sacring of persons and things by an Archbishop. No. Perhaps the public sensibilities might still demand that religion should not be utterly ignored when a new reign commenced; but the function would have to be something well watered down to words and forms that nobody would object to, something that Salvationist, Unitarian, Ranter, and what not, might all equally relish. What a very vapid residuum that would be!

Then, again, there are other great and solemn occasions when the national life must seek outward expression, national deliverances and thanksgivings, the initiation of great national enterprises, the entombment of a national hero. At these times we need a religious organ through which, as a people, we can address our prayers and thanksgivings to Almighty God. If we have nothing left in the land but independent voluntary sects, all jealous of each other, such national expression of religious feeling will be found impracticable. Probably some would deny this. Well, I will prove it. The Bishop of Manchester was Bishop of Melbourne when the great Exhibition at that city was opened. Nine persons out of every ten in the great assemblage desired that the blessing of Almighty God should be invoked on the proceedings. "Many," says the Bishop, "expressed to me their sorrow and disappointment at the apparent godlessness of what was done." But no prayer could be offered because no representative of any one religious denomination could

be asked to offer such a prayer without exciting the jealousy of all the rest.*

Remember, too, how largely our people take their notions of right and wrong from the law of the land. What the law says and does is for them good and right. They are greatly influenced by the action of public bodies. But if every portion of our public national life had to be anxiously divested of all visible sign of respect for religion, must not the influence of Christianity upon our people be greatly weakened? To shut out religion from public affairs is in principle atheism.

Now think of our rural parishes: what will befall them if such a Bill as that before us became an Act? The whole of their revenues from tithe and glebe would be swept away. In many of them it was always little enough, and is now much less. Still, though small, it is safe, and a priest can be found to accept it and live amongst his flock. When this certainty is gone, will these small, thinly peopled parishes, with no residents for the most part except farmers—very badly off now—and labourers, be able to support a resident clergyman? Doubtless we should try to help from some central fund, but any reasonable man must see that many of the smaller and poorer parishes would have to be abandoned. They will lapse into something resembling the missions stations in a heathen land. They will get nothing but an occasional service from an itinerant clergyman, who will live in some convenient centre and drive round to three or four of them on a Sunday in a gig. A sorry substitute this for the parochial system of the Church of England! Do not imagine that our Dissenters will be able to stop the gap. In very many Lincolnshire parishes there is assuredly no resident Dissenting minister now. And the same is the case even in Wales, where we quite admit Dissenters are more numerous than they are in England. In the Diocese of St. Asaph, for instance, there are 206 parishes, and in 94 of these there is no Dissenting minister residing there. Yet our Liberationist friends, in the cause of religion as they say, want to banish from these 94 the only man on the spot whose business it is to care for the souls of the people. There is lamentation over the decline of English rural life and the depopulation of our agricultural districts. In truth, it is sad enough to see whole tracts once fertile going out of cultivation, to see the farm homesteads deserted, and the hall and the manor shuttered up. And now, by way of benefiting the country people, proposals are launched which must banish the Vicar from many a rural parish, and deprive it of perhaps the only family of culture and some small independent means that is sure to be found in it.

* See *The Bishop of Manchester on Disestablishment*, published by th Church Defence Institution.

And our Church Schools. They will be found practically to depend on that same vicarage, and where there is no resident parish priest, there will be no Church School. And very many other Church Schools will have to be surrendered, because when our endowments fail us we must apply all the resources we can muster to maintain our ministers and so must withdraw our school subscriptions, as has already been proposed in Wales in the event of the Welsh Bill becoming law. "And a good thing too," I can imagine some doctrinaire about education exclaiming, "for then we shall have universal School Boards" Yes, but at what cost? An immediate cost of twenty millions, it has been said, for new buildings, besides an annual two millions or so for maintenance. Or is it proposed to confiscate, not only the tithes and the glebe lands, but also the twelve thousand Church Schools? Three-fourths of the cost of these buildings has been paid by Churchmen; and they are generally, with few exceptions, held in trust for education according to the principles of the Church. Churchmen have spent twenty-one millions of money within the last twenty-three years on building and maintaining their own schools, besides having paid their share, and that very much the largest, of what has come to their schools from the national exchequer. Nor is this all. What would be the effect on religion of universal School Boards? It would end I fear in the exile of religious instruction from our Elementary Schools altogether. For a thoughtful man may see that it is only the steady maintenance of the reality of religious teaching in the Voluntary Schools which enables the ghost of it to hold place in Board Schools generally. Experience has shown that the "undenominational" teaching, as it is called,—it should be called *indefinite* teaching,—if left to itself, surely degenerates into bare secularism. Fancy now a school professing to instruct in "indefinite geography," or "indefinite arithmetic"! Valuable, practical teaching that! But this is of itself a large subject. I must pass on.

For my next point I avail myself of the witness of an adversary. There is no newspaper more bitter in its attacks on the Church of England than the Roman Catholic *Tablet*. Its articles are, I believe, mostly written by English perverts. Well, in March last, *The Tablet*, commenting upon the facts and figures given in the *Official Year Book* for 1894, said, "It must be freely and gladly admitted that judged by the list of generosity the Anglican body is conspicuous in all works of practical benevolence. The endowment of the Anglican clergy is put down as bringing in an annual income of £3,285,990; and this sum is supplemented by voluntary contributions of the magnificent sum of £5,401,982." This is for 1893. Now to be candid, I don't myself think this anything to be proud of. To be sure private donations to

the Church and her work are not and cannot be included in returns of this kind, and these must on the whole be of very considerable value. Nor yet do these returns show what has been contributed by Churchmen to causes common to them with others, such as the Bible Society, the Young Men's Christian Association,—or the Hospital Sunday Collections,—as to which by the by in London, and I suppose elsewhere, four pounds out of every five come from our churches. Yet it is true that many Churchmen, even of those well able, do little or nothing; many congregations make but mean response to any appeal that is not strictly parochial. Still, with all our shortcomings, we do enough to prove that moderate endowments do not paralyse voluntary liberality. The Church forms by far the largest organisation of free will offerings; and in fact the endowments draw forth such offerings, because they give a backbone of security, and the donors know that the cause they give to is durable. But the *Tablet* goes on to remark: "If the Church is disestablished and disendowed, and the former of these sums—that is, the endowments—is appropriated to secular uses, it seems to follow that the support of the clergy will have to be a first charge upon the five-and-half millions of voluntary contributions." Yes, that is the hard fact, and the case, too, is understated. We should have to establish a central fund to maintain churches, parsonages, clergy; to invest as much as possible as soon as possible, so as to make that fund substantial before the present incumbents, who are to retain their income for their lives, drop off. Money yields but a small annual return in these days, and to provide each clergyman with a "living wage," and not leave him absolutely dependent upon what his flock might raise for him, and for his dwelling-house and for the fabric of his church; that would involve the finding of a very large capital sum indeed. You have noted what our landowners are compelled to do in various parts now to meet the new liabilities imposed by the Death Duties. They are withdrawing subscriptions; abandoning schemes undertaken for public purposes, such as model farms; discontinuing retiring pensions, and so on. The same thing, only on a thousand-fold greater scale, would meet your eyes on every side in this land were such a Bill as this Welsh Bill to become law for us. All plans of Church extension would have to be dropped at once; missionary work at home and abroad would be crippled; charities would be starved to death; many a hospital, dispensary, and penitentiary would have to close. For certainly our first duty would be to concentrate all upon keeping up those churches and clergy, which are the heart-centres of charitable and religious work. And observe, the calamities I refer to would come on at once and in force, whilst the Church endowments, if applied to any public

purpose, say education, would yield no appreciable relief; and, indeed, as the Liberation Society has itself admitted, for some years there would be no considerable surplus at all.

But it may be asked: "How then do the Dissenters manage to support their ministers and their fabrics out of their own pockets?" Well, the answer is: "They don't." They have very large endowments —property of all kinds, buildings, land, funded investments, even tithes. There is, *e.g.*, the Church of Little Maplestead in Essex, one of the four round churches in England, a twelfth-century church, and thought by the antiquarians to reproduce with more fidelity than the other three the original of all these round churches, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Now the owners of the great tithes of this parish, *i.e.*, the rectors, are the tiny sect of Seventh Day Baptists. They own also 400 acres of land in the parish, are patrons of the living, and the Vicar rejoices in the fixed salary of £60 per annum! But upon all this subject I must refer you to a little book—Mr. Nye's *How Dissent is Established and Endowed.* Mr. Nye explains that his information is very imperfect. There are many more Dissenting endowments catalogued in his second edition than in his first; more facts and figures are perpetually coming in, though our Dissenting friends are chary about answering questions now they know what is aimed at. But from what is even now known, Mr. Nye reckons that the chapels, their sites, and the buildings connected with them are worth more than forty-five millions sterling! And this, remember, is independent of rents and dividends, of which there is no small amount. And yet there was a noble lord who said in the House of Lords in March last that "The Dissenters reposed entirely on the voluntary system, which was active and vital, and they knew that endowments were the very reverse." Now I ask if my tithes, which maintain a resident Rector in my parish, are to be confiscated, why should the rectorial tithes of Little Maplestead be paid any longer to the Seventh Day Baptists? Broadly, if Church endowments are to be torn from the Church, why should not the endowments of the chapels be taken away also? for both have one and the same origin—the devotion of those individuals who gave them. The only difference is this—the endowments of Dissent are nearly all modern; those of the Church were in large part given long ago. I say in large part, because it has been reckoned that at least half of the revenues of our cathedrals, churches, and church institutions of all kinds originated subsequently to the Restoration (1660). Now if you look round you, will you marvel at the statement? Why the Bishopric of Liverpool has been constituted and endowed with £4,200 a year and a house since 1878; more than £97,000 was paid down in hard cash. Observe, the Church

as a Church has nothing. The property belongs to our cathedrals and parish churches, and was given by those individuals who deemed it their duty to secure the regular performance of certain spiritual functions on behalf of those in whom the donors were interested. That is the broad fact. It is quite true that Parliament voted a million-and-a-half of money soon after the close of the Great War for building new churches, and also one million and £100,000 were voted to Queen Anne's Bounty for improving small benefices between 1809 and 1820. If any point were made of this, we would repay it, provided the Dissenting communities would also refund to the tax-payer the much larger amounts voted to them year after year by Parliament since 1661. Why the Irish Dissenters received close on £769,000 from Parliament in a lump in 1869, in commutation for the annual payments previously made to them, and the Romanists at the same date received £372,231.

But it is sometimes said that what our Churches have was once Roman Catholic ; that the State took it from the Roman Catholics and gave it to us ; and that what the State gave the State may lawfully take away. Now all that the State ever gave the Church is comprised in those Parliamentary grants which I have just mentioned. And remember that of all that our Churches have the half has been given since 1661, when Prayer Book and Articles were what they are. This half, then, could never be supposed to be Roman. But what of the other half? Well, this too, broadly speaking, was never Roman. The parishes were, with few exceptions, constituted and endowed before the Norman Conquest by the owners of lands who desired to secure a resident pastor for their tenants. Papal encroachments no doubt came in later ; were resisted by strong Kings, endured by weak Kings ; but how can the temporary tyranny of the foreign Bishop of Rome make void the claims of the old parishes to their parochial endowments? No doubt in later times there was much money given for purposes dismissed at the Reformation as superstitious. But *we* have not got *this* money. The State seized all that the Abbeys, the Charities, the Guilds possessed, and Laymen have that all to this day, except some scraps which Henry VIII. and Edward VI. surrendered for new Bishoprics, or Colleges, or Grammar Schools. And as a set-off even to that there was about £800,000 a year of parochial tithes which were seized. These had been annexed by the Abbeys, and when the Abbeys were dissolved the tithes ought to have reverted to the parishes that pay them. But no ; they got into Lay hands, and are there still. Hence you have Lay Rectors. The present parochial endowments were not bestowed for Roman worship. If an Englishman of the tenth century (say) could come to life again his spiritual home would be the parish church, not the Roman chapel, where the popular services are Benediction or

Rosary—mere modern inventions,—and the doctrines are very largely new, both name and thing.

There is much looseness about that term State Property. In one sense of the word all property belongs to the State. In our grandfather's days the Income Tax rose to 2s. 6d. in the pound; no doubt if the war had lasted much longer it would have gone up higher. In some parishes, before the new Poor Law was enacted in 1834, the rates had risen to something not far off 20s. in the pound. The State, in short, has a right to take whatsoever it needs for public purposes. And again when the State, out of public funds, builds barracks, post offices, workhouses, these buildings are public property. But the State did not erect the buildings of the Church. The State did not give the revenues attached to them. You know the trifling exceptions to these statements, so trifling that we may dismiss them. I say then that Church property is not in any right sense State property; and that if the State despoil the Church of what her own sons have given her it will give a shake to all property rights; unsettlement and disorder will result, and in this revolution the poor will suffer first and most. It is vain to answer that the State has again and again interfered to regulate the devolution and management of Church property; for the State has done the same with Dissenting property too:—witness Sir R. Peel's Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844. Because the State directs how a man shall make his will, does that cause all his property to become public? Tithes were originally gifts of donors interested in those who dwelt on their estates. It was only long years afterwards that the State stepped in to enforce by law contracts originally of free will.

Has Disestablishment done any good to Ireland? Perhaps some of you can remember the glowing prophecies of 1868 about the millennium that was to follow the cutting down of "the upas tree," as Mr. Gladstone termed the Establishment. Those persons may answer the question for themselves. Disestablishment has reduced the Clergy of Ireland by one-third, secured the complete ascendency of Rome in three-fourths of the island, and stimulated the production of "Orange Bitters" in the rest of it.

But "Religious Equality" is the cry. By all means. Religious equality is an excellent thing rightly understood. It means, or ought to mean, that all should be equally religious. If equality *before the law* is meant, *we* ought rather to raise the cry, for the Dissenters have been the pets of every administration for sixty years past. Witness in this very year the scandalous treatment of King's College, London, which is to be deprived of the Government allowance in aid of secondary education granted to all other such Colleges, not because it is inefficient, but merely and confessedly

because it is a Church institution. But explain religious equality as you may, how is it produced by robbing the Church of her property and sparing the property of the sects? And who are they who are so loudly raising the cry of religious equality in Wales? Chiefly the Calvinistic Methodists, the preachers of the most tremendous religious *inequality* imaginable, that between the Reprobate and the Elect. Surely, since they think so very badly of our eternal future, they might leave us alone in the transitory present. But no Act of Parliament can create an equality between the sect of yesterday, which may disappear, as many sects have disappeared, to-morrow, and the Church, which is co-eval with the nation, nay, with Christianity itself in the land, and which has such a record as she has in the history and literature of England. As for social alienation, no doubt much of it is due to religious dissentions; in truth, it is an unhappy feature in our English social life. But I deny that it would disappear with the Establishment. On the contrary, it would be immensely aggravated and inflamed. I deny also that the fault of its continuing rests solely or mainly with Churchmen. We don't monopolise all the bigotry and narrowness. There is at this time, as anyone may find out for himself if he will inquire, a scandalous amount of petty persecution used by the Welsh Dissenters against the sons and daughters of the Church in the Principality. The Dissenters know better than to allow freedom of speech and action where they are strong. Remember also that a Disestablished Church would have no territorial responsibilities. She would, on the break up of the parochial system, look chiefly after her own congregations. Churchmen would organise and concentrate themselves within themselves, and the inevitable result would be more rooted religious antipathies, deeper social alienations.

We are a great and an increasing majority in this nation. From facts and figures brought forward at the Rhyl Church Congress—which they themselves do not contest—it appears that the Dissenters cannot count quite one-half of the Welshmen, and all available information points to their being about twenty per cent. of Englishmen. Of course some of them would deny this. But then why do they prevent what every Government for 30 years past has tried to bring about—a Religious Census? Why do they behave like a man who would say—offering you a handful of silver—"Here's your change for a sovereign," but would not let you count the shillings! Would you not suspect that he had doubts as to the accuracy of his own counting? In Ireland, where the Government in 1861 did carry through a Religious Census, whilst they failed to do so in England, our enemies welcomed it, for well they knew that they were in an enormous majority over the Church of Ireland. And when Dissenters in England and Wales shrink above all things from being

counted—the natural test, surely, when there is a dispute about numbers—don't you see the reason why? It is because they suspect that their assertions would not stand the proof.

In stating what would be the effects of Disestablishment I do not mean to say that these are what Liberationists desire and intend. On the contrary, there are some who have persuaded themselves that any connection between Church and State is wrong in itself; strange as such an idea must seem to anyone who reads and believes his Bible. There are those also who are convinced, in spite of all reason and experience to the contrary, that good would result. And most of them have never thought out the consequences at all. This must not prevent our setting out what those consequences must be; and if I have not extenuated them I have assuredly "set down naught in malice." They are such as to make it the imperative duty of all Churchmen—yes, of all patriotic Englishmen—to withstand to the uttermost every attempt in this direction. We will not have Disestablishment, either as a whole, nor yet by instalments. If Churchmen of both the great parties—and there are good Churchmen in both, and always have been—will steadily mark down every M.P. who votes for a motion looking that way and declare against him, Disestablishment will soon disappear from the party platform. And as regards the democracy, I, for one, think it is more likely to undertake to reform the Church in a democratic direction than to destroy it. And I am far from denying that reforms in this direction are not needed. Parishioners may reasonably demand some voice in the choice of their pastors. Church Councils in our parishes might be helpful, provided that *bonâ fide* Churchmen only were qualified to act on them. These are days in which corporate action—collectivism—is prescribed in every department of public life. Unless the democracy is anti-religious—which I don't believe it is—it is not likely to be content to leave religion to the casual mercies of individualism. After all, majorities have their rights as well as minorities. And we are quite strong enough to hold our own if we so choose. Let us rather hope that the marked tendencies towards re-union amongst the now disunited Christian communities in this land will, under the blessing of God, grow and prevail. Let us hope that our Dissenting neighbours, many of them most estimable and godly men, will return to the Church of their fathers, and their fathers' fathers, help us to remove her blemishes, to advance her efficiency, rather than strive any longer to degrade and plunder her.

THE DUTY OF CHURCHMEN TO BE PREPARED.

A SPEECH

BY THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION,

ON THURSDAY, JUNE 14TH, 1894.

London:
THE CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION,
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PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE NEW ATTACK ON THE CHURCH.

LORD SALISBURY ON THE SITUATION

Speaking from the chair at the Annual Meeting of the Church Defence Institution, in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, W., on Thursday, June 14, the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, who on rising was greeted with loud and continuous cheering, said,—Ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here upon a grave occasion—one of the gravest that can occupy the attention of English citizens or of Christian men. The Attack on the Church.

We are threatened with an attack upon the integrity of our Church, and the deprivation of those means which the Church possesses and has ever used to succour those who are intrusted to her care and to preach the Gospel among the poor. I know I shall be told that the present attack is not serious, and that we are taking up arms too soon. My reply is that the question whether that attack is serious or not depends on the attitude with which we meet it. If we allow it to go on it will in time become serious enough, but we cannot recognise too completely or too quickly the opportunist character of modern English

politics. As Churchmen we must remember that those will be safe who defend themselves, and those will have done their duty who hand down to their posterity intact the trust which has been committed to their care. The attack that is made upon us is nominally only an attack upon the Church in Wales. Even if that was true the Church in Wales—one o the most ancient in this country—would have every right to call on every one of its brethren throughout the island to sustain it in the terrible trial that awaits it; but the attack on the Church in Wales is only a cover and a mask for a more serious attack of which it forms a part and will be the introduction. It is an attack itself on the Church in England, for the four dioceses in Wales are an integral part of the Church of England; and you cannot cut off my hand or my foot without attacking me generally. But if there are any who think—to change the metaphor—that by flinging one of our children to the wolves we can protect the rest, there is no doubt that every principle which enables our adversaries to attack the Church in Wales will, if we are faint-hearted, enable them to attack the Church of England later on. This enterprise is based upon the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. I remember we were told very confidently then that if we would only consent to sacrifice the Church of Ireland the Church of England would be all the safer for the process. We can now see what the truth of such prophecies was; but if you will measure the distance that separates the attack upon the Church of Ireland from the attack upon the Church of Wales, you can measure the prospect that lies before us in the future of an attack on the Church of England, if the attack on the Church of Wales should be successful.

The Church in Wales and the Church of Ireland.

The difference that separates the Church of Wales from the Church of Ireland is greater than that which separates the Church of England from the Church of Wales. In the first

place the Church of Ireland was a very peculiar and extreme case. It was the case of a Church which was making practically no progress in the community in which it existed, and which had therefore no claim as a Church of the people; and it remained from the beginning, as it was to the end, practically a missionary Church. It never advanced at all, or never advanced in any perceptible degree. Compare that with the Church of Wales. The Church of Wales has only recently been attacked. Those who oppose us in Wales are not like those who opposed us in Ireland—the representatives of an ancient faith that had existed for many generations. They have arisen within the present century. They have arisen undoubtedly in consequence of the faults of the Church; but to whom are those faults due? Those faults are due to that lamentable political spirit which governed the distribution of the patronage of the Crown in the eighteenth century, which was part of the policy of the day, which was connected with the dynastic questions that were in issue, and which had the effect of placing over the Church of Wales in too many instances men utterly unworthy of the high office to which they were called. Under their guardianship it became feeble and weak—it withered and dwindled away; and it was not to be wondered at that the earnest zeal of Wesley's followers should have sought to revive what seemed to be the dying spirit of Christianity in the land. But the Church answered to the call.

The Revival of the Church in Wales.

In Wales, as in other parts of the country, she has shown a marvellous revival; and it is utterly unreasonable to treat a Church which has had a passing period of weakness as you treated the Church of Ireland, which was never able to grapple with the task placed before her. I need not repeat to you—you know them well — the proofs of the advance of the Church in Wales. During the last sixty years her ministering clergy have doubled. Enormous

sums—more than £2,000,000 within the period of an existing life—have been spent on reviving the machinery of the Welsh Church; and in every respect there is the sign, the clear promise, of a rapid revival, so that those who would attack her confess that they are obliged to do it now lest they should not be able to do it later. Now, you may think that you are safe in the Church of England from having the principles of this spoliation applied to you. On what do you rely? Is it on the zeal of the revival that you have shown? I have pointed out to you that that zeal has been equally conspicuous in Wales. Perhaps you will be told that in Wales there is a majority of those who are anxious for the disestablishment of the Church, and that there is no such majority in England. How do we know that there is a majority who desire disestablishment in Wales? I have for the last thirty years heard it asserted, and I have never seen a vestige of a proof.

A Religious Census.

In Ireland our enemies were not the least afraid of proofs. They welcomed a religious census. They showed clearly, and too clearly, that Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were in an enormous majority over the Church of Ireland; but our adversaries in Wales shrink from a religious census. They are very confident in their assertions as to numbers, but they object to the elementary process of testing numbers, which is by counting. If a man gave you what he called change for a sovereign, and declined to allow you to count the shillings, would you not suspect that he had some doubt as to the accuracy of his own counting? This determination of our adversaries in Wales to prevent any counting—any census—is to my mind an absolute proof, which it is impossible to get over, that they are not satisfied with their calculations themselves. I do not believe that those who desire the disestablishment of the Church of Wales—especially if you include the women—are in a majority in

that Principality; but, of course, do not imagine, if you allow yourselves to be defeated on this issue, and to believe this transparent pretence, that the matter will stop there.

Other Points of Attack.

It will be a very easy matter to point to other parts of England in which it will be said that the Church is no longer in a majority; and if you allow the question of majority to be settled by people who refuse to allow you to count and invent their figures for themselves, you will find that it is very easy indeed to prove that the Church of England is in a minority. Well, then, perhaps you may trust to the rights of property—to the ancient property which the Church of England possesses in all the endowments which she enjoys—or, rather, uses for the benefit of others, in this country. But observe the march of principle when you move from Ireland to Wales. It was bad enough in Ireland, and many pointed out at that time that the contempt for all rights of property, especially of corporate property, would bear evil fruit in the time that was to come. But it must be acknowledged in Ireland, however illogical it may be, and however much we may deplore it, that confusion on the questions of property—forfeitures, revolutions—has been so comparatively recent that an attack on the rights of property does not create the shock we could hope it would do among the people of this country. But when we come from Ireland to Wales are we more careful of the rights of property? What of the cathedrals—those cathedrals that have belonged to the Church of Wales from a time to which the records of man cannot go back? Within quite recent days they have been restored and adorned by the offerings of the Church, amounting to a sum of £120,000. Yet all that is to be confiscated by a sweep of the Home Secretary's pen. If there is any ancient right in this country—I am not now entering on the question of what is abstractly desirable—it

is the right of advowson. Such things have been held and have been dealt with as property as far back as our legal books will carry us. Yet with a sweep of the Home Secretary's pen the right of advowson of every layman in Wales is practically swept away. Do not, therefore, trust to any protection which the rights of property may give you. The rights of property will have trouble enough to look after themselves. They were undermined at the disestablishment of the Irish Church. If you allow the Welsh Church to be overthrown they will cease to have any protective power whatever. Now, that is the danger that stands before us—the danger which, as Churchmen, you must meet.

How to meet the Danger.

And how must you meet it? Do not imagine that meetings of this kind, though I quite admit their use and value, are the machinery by which the Church, the Established Church, in its danger will be defended. Work of a very different kind is required of all those who value the institutions which have assured the preaching of the Gospel to the poor for many centuries in this land. We must each in his own part of the country, in various parts of the country, make people understand what the end of the attack upon the Church of England is, what the character of the principles at issue is, what the dangers are which any yielding to this encroachment will involve. We must carry that knowledge to all our neighbours, high and low, to all who can help us in fighting this great battle, and who are likely, when they are duly informed, to support us with their influence and power. It must be a matter in each parish of the country of private personal influence and persuasion. We must carry to the people of this country, whether they live in towns or in the country, a sense of the great responsibility which in this crisis attaches to them by reason of the power which is reposed in their hands and of the tremendous interests which the exercise of that power in the present day will affect.

We must not allow ourselves to be frightened by vain words. You will find people who will tell you that these things are political, and that the Church should not be political. I quite agree that in one sense the Church should not be political. It is not the business of the Church to help this or that party into office. It is not the business of the Church to meddle in matters of purely secular concern; but when the inheritance and the power for good which by God's providence have been entrusted to her are threatened by a spoliation of this kind she must use the weapons that are in her hand—the weapons of the world, if it need be. And every Churchman must exercise all the political influence that he has in order to ensure that this outrage shall not take place. Do not allow yourselves to be misled by being told that that is a political way of acting. You have one thing before you—to protect your Church. Insist that all to whom you give, or is given, any shred of power should use it for the protection of the Church, and let all other considerations be put on one side.

The "Policy of Peace."

But I shall be told that that is not the policy of peace; that the real policy of peace is to allow the Welsh Church to be cut off in order to satisfy our enemies. I observe a great tendency among many people to interpret the Evangelical command to turn the left cheek into turning your neighbour's left cheek. If any man desires himself to be disestablished and disendowed, I would not dissuade him from it for a moment; but when it is a question of his neighbour, of his fellow-citizen, of his fellow-countryman, when it is a question of those who, with him, inherit this great responsibility, I say he is bound to defend them from the attack of those who wish no good either to the Christian religion or to the Church of Christ. They say that if we give up the Church of Wales it will be a policy of peace. Well, I should like to read to you a sentence I saw in a

magnificent address by the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Story, which he delivered the other day, in which he dealt with a similar attack directed against the Church which is under his charge, and I think I should like to adopt his words, because, being a divine of great eminence, he uses language in which in a poor layman like me might be thought strong. Dr. Story says:—

"May I say in passing, and with no desire to hurt any one's feelings, that I think it would be a becoming tribute to honesty of principle and frankness of discussion if the advocates of disestablishment and disendowment of the Church were for the future to pretermit in their orations the assurance which, with a bland unction worthy of Tartuffe, they so constantly prefer, that it is for very love of us and concern for the highest welfare of the Church and our souls that they conduct their agitation."

I most heartily endorse that protest of Dr. Story's. Nothing seems to me more repulsive than that those who are stripping a man by the wayside should assure him that they do it from a Christian love of his soul.

The effects of Disestablishment and Disendowment.

But is this disestablishment and disendowment to produce peace? Has it produced peace in Ireland? Is there that deep love between north and south, between Catholic and Protestant, which we were assured would be the result of this policy? It does not appear to me that the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin loves the Protestant any more than he did before. It does not appear to me that he devotes his great power and ability more enthusiastically than he did to the maintenance of peace and order in Ireland. Well, but just imagine, what I hope is a wild hypothesis, that this agitation should succeed, and consider what would be the state of things when the Welsh Church had been disendowed. Would it be a question of peace on the side of the Churchmen? They would know that they had been disendowed by political manœuvres and doctored statistics. They would know that it was merely as a matter of log-rolling that the Bill, if it did pass, had passed

through the House of Commons; that they had been disendowed to give to a Minister a majority for a totally different object. They would know that this disendowment had paralysed their arm in working for the good of their fellow creatures in Wales. Every charity, every educational effort, every sacrifice for the good of their fellow men would be paralysed and arrested, because every farthing that Welsh Churchmen could contribute would be needed to conduct, however imperfectly, the ancient and inherited duties of the Church. And what would be the feelings on the other side? What would be the feelings of our adversaries? Would they be feelings of peace and feelings of non-aggression? If the adversaries of the Church in Wales merely desired her property I should not look upon the matter in nearly so dark a light. After all, the passion of acquisitiveness is a very common human passion, and it has this advantage, that after it has received a certain amount of satisfaction it is satiated. But the passion of jealousy, the desire that your adversary should be stripped in order that you may rejoice over his nakedness, the desire that your adversary's possessions should be taken from him even if they have to be wasted, even if they have to be spent upon the most absurd and frivolous objects, even if they have to be so dealt with that they will go back to the hated landlord, that passion is not capable of easy satiation. As long as the adversary remains the desire to trample upon him will remain, and the partial victory in Wales will only whet the appetite for the further gratification of this passion, for the further carrying out of the humiliation and destruction of those whom they have learnt to recognise as their greatest enemies and the most formidable obstacles to the cause to which they are attached. Acquisitiveness is a virile and masculine passion; jealousy—a jealousy which has never been avowed

so plainly before. It is a passion which has never carried any good to individuals or to collections of men. It is a passion which can leave nothing behind it but the inheritance of perpetual conflict and ever unsatisfied revenge. Depend upon it that behind this enterprise against the Church of Wales there lies—if it should unhappily be successful, which I utterly disbelieve—a long period of mutual resentment and conflict which will be the most fatal impediment to social progress or to social culture. When we are asking you now to make an effort, a supreme, an enthusiastic, but, above all things, a tenacious and persevering effort, to defend the Church which you have inherited and in which you were born, we are asking you to sustain the cause, not only of good order, not only of the prosperity of this Empire, but the cause of Christian truth, the cause of liberty, and the cause of peace.

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SOME LARGE ASPECTS OF THE WELSH CHURCH BILL.

A SPEECH

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1894,

BY

Professor R. C. JEBB,

M.P. FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

London:
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BY

PROFESSOR R. C. JEBB, M.P.

IN asking the indulgence of the House for a few minutes only, my aim is less to criticise details than to consider certain large aspects of the question which this Bill brings before us. Vital as the measure is to the highest interests of Wales,—far-reaching as must be its ulterior consequences, should it pass into law, for the Principality,—it is not of less import, and its consequences will not be less extensive or less serious, for England as a whole. It is not merely the first step towards the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England, but actually the first instalment of such a measure. Every member of the Church of England is therefore entitled to participate in this discussion, even although (as is my own case) he is ignorant of the Welsh language, and has no such knowledge of Wales as may be acquired by residence. The principle affirmed as justifying the introduction of the Bill has been stated with the utmost frankness and clearness by the Home Secretary It is simply that at the last general election Wales sent to this House a large majority of Members in favour of such a Bill. But Wales has not yet a separate Parliament; and it is the duty of every Member of this Imperial Assembly to consider this and every question from the point of view of what is best for the whole kingdom. The figures 31 to 3 are not claimed as representing the proportionate number of electors in Wales who voted for or against disestablishment. So long as a religious census is refused, we lack the primary and most essential document

for the investigation of this aspect of the matter. No doubt the Church question was a prominent question—I should be ready to assume that it was the most prominent—at many elections in Wales; but did no other issues, such as Home Rule for Ireland, contribute to the result? And as to the Church issue itself, on what grounds was it placed at the elections? Was there no appeal to political motives, to selfish cupidity, or to sectarian animosity? And now a local verdict, clouded with all these ambiguities, is made the plea for commencing the destruction of a national institution.

Let us remember the nature of that national institution. In the discussion of this Bill, more has been heard of endowment than of establishment; the Church has been considered, though not exclusively, yet chiefly, as a number of ecclesiastical corporations, sole or aggregate, which severally hold property. Establishment, so far as it has been touched upon in these debates, has been regarded mainly under the aspect of privilege. When the Home Secretary introduced the Suspensory Bill last year, he spoke of the privileges appertaining to the status of establishment—a phrase correct in itself, but corresponding with an inaccurate conception in the popular mind. The "establishment" of the Church is often spoken of as if it meant that once upon a time the State had singled out this religious denomination from among other denominations,—had set it up,—and had attributed to it, by means of certain privileges, a higher spiritual rank than that which was accorded to the others. The House is aware, however, that the State never did anything of the kind. The word "establish" does not mean only "to set up"; it means also "to settle," "to confirm in rights," "to ratify." In this sense it occurs in the Statute of Provisors, where Parliament is describing as having "ordered and established" such or such a thing; in the Acts of Uniformity of the sixteenth century, with reference to the Liturgy of the Church and to the Book of Common Prayer; and in the Act of Union between England

and Scotland, with reference to the "Protestant religion" in England and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland respectively. Those relations between the Church of England and the State, which collectively are described as "establishment," derive their origin from a time when the Church had as yet no spiritual competitor. The Church possessed great power, which was liable to be affected by foreign influence; and the State thought it prudent, as a matter of public policy, to take from the Church certain securities against possible excesses of uncontrolled ecclesiastical authority. It was then enacted that the ecclesiastical Law and Courts should become part of the public law of the realm. By coming within the framework of the State, the Church gained a new sanction for its law, but it also gave up something. The primary characteristic of this alliance between Church and State was not the bestowal of privileges upon the Church by the State, but rather the imposition by the State upon the Church of certain limitations. We have heard a good deal about religious equality; but I would venture to remind the House that there is a thing still more important than that—a condition precedent to it—and that is religious liberty. It may fairly be claimed for the Anglican Church, and will not be denied even by those who are least friendly to her, if only they are unprejudiced, that, regulated as she has been by her relations with the State, and strengthened thereby in a temper of moderation, she has been throughout the centuries the greatest bulwark against spiritual tyranny, and has afforded the best safeguard of religious freedom. If we seek a contrast, need we look further than to some of the provisions in Mr. Gee's now celebrated scheme, or to the spirit which animated a speech to which we have listened this afternoon?

I ask leave now to say a few words on the existing situation in Wales. I shall not attempt on the present occasion to go into the details of statistics, but shall refer only to some general features of the case. The most important fact concerning the Established Church in Wales is

the well-known one that in the course of this century she has experienced a great revival of activity, and that her progress in this respect continues. This is, indeed, admitted on all hands. I am content to quote one out of many Nonconformist testimonies. On November 20, 1883, a Conference on Disestablishment was held at Carnarvon, when a Dissenting minister read a paper, afterwards published by the Liberation Society. He fully and fairly recognised the renewal of energy in the Church. He then said: "I know that this revived activity in the Church is taken by some as an argument why we should leave the Church alone, and allow it to go on doing good; but I"—he added with great frankness—"but I take the argument to be quite the reverse." Would it be possible to find better confirmation of a remark made on Thursday last from this side of the House, that the present moment had been chosen for the attack, because it was seen that the Church was so rapidly gaining ground? In view of this progressive activity, why should it be beyond hope that the Church in Wales should gradually win back some at least of those who are now estranged from her, and establish with the rest a satisfactory *modus vivendi*? So natural is such a hope, that supporters of this or a similar measure have more than once felt constrained to notice it in this House;—it was referred to by Mr. Watkin Williams in 1870, and last year by the Hon. Gentleman who then sat for Montgomeryshire [Lord Rendel]; —but in each case the answer given was the same: it was summed up in the words "Too late." "Too late" is a sorrowful answer, when the question is one of reconciliation between different Christian denominations; and I decline to accept those words as a final reply to such a question, without, at all events, further examination. My first reason for refusing to abandon the hope to which I have referred arises from the history of Nonconformity in Wales. I shall not adduce any recondite facts, but merely such elementary facts as are well-known, or can be learned from books accessible to all. What was the origin of Welsh Nonconformity?

The Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for East Denbighshire (Sir George Osborne Morgan), once said in this House that the cause of Welsh Dissent could be summed up in two words, "English Bishops:" and, rightly understood, that statement is quite true, though it requires to be supplemented. Under the Tudors and Stuarts, when forty-four Welshmen in succession occupied sees in Wales, the Welsh people were well affected towards the Church. The change dated from the Revolution. Then began the policy of filling the Welsh Sees with Englishmen, who not only were ignorant of the Welsh language, but seldom had much sympathy with Welsh traditions. That was the cause which first estranged the Welsh people from the Church. But there was also another cause—the extreme poverty of the Church in Wales during the eighteenth century. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1890, states that in the year 1720 there were in the diocese of St. David's no fewer than 233 livings of less value than £50 a year, and 154 of these were worth less than £30 a year. This penury necessarily crippled the work of the Church, and bred discontent. Along with these things came that torpor and apathy which unhappily was not peculiar at that period to the Church in Wales, but affected, more or less, the entire Church of England. It was under these circumstances that the old Welsh Methodism took its rise. That movement was begun by Welsh Churchmen; it arose within the Church; it remained within the Church; and it was always entirely friendly to the Church. In proof of that, it is enough to recall one or two of the names which to this day are household words in Wales. Daniel Rowlands lived and died a Churchman; so did Griffith Jones, the father, as he has been called, of national education in Wales, and the originator of the itinerant ministry; so did Howell Harris, the great lay preacher, who is buried, if I remember right, near the altar of the Church of Talgarth—by his own desire, because it was at the rails of that altar, he said, that he had first experienced a sense of

his own shortcomings. Meanwhile, what was the position of Welsh Dissent? During the eighteenth century, Welsh Dissent, as distinguished from Welsh Methodism, was confined to small numbers of three denominations—Baptists, Independents and Presbyterians. Early in the present century came (in 1811) the great separation of Nonconformists from the Church in Wales; but that separation was not associated on the part of the Nonconformists with any such tone or attitude towards the Church as we unfortunately now see in some Hon. Gentlemen opposite. Thomas Charles of Bala, who left the Church, retained, to his death in 1814, a strong affection for it. In 1834 the Methodists held a meeting at Bala, which was attended by some 500 preachers and elders from various parts of Wales. At this meeting a recommendation was proposed by a Methodist from Anglesea, and seconded by another from Pembrokeshire, which contained these words:—

"That we deeply lament the nature of that agitation, now so prevalent in this kingdom, and which avowedly has for its object the severing of the National Church from the State, and other changes in ecclesiastical affairs. We therefore are of opinion that it pertains not unto us to interfere in such matters; and we strenuously enjoin upon every member of our connexion to meddle not with them that are given to change."

I will add only one other illustration, which brings us to a still later date—the testimony of a witness who ought to carry weight with Hon. Gentlemen opposite, for he was in politics a strong Liberal; in his early life he had suffered for his sympathy with Dissenters, in the matter of tests at the Universities; he was one of the most eminent men who ever occupied the See of St. David's; he had acquired, I believe, some knowledge of the Welsh language, and he certainly felt a deep interest in the Welsh people—I mean, of course, the scholar and historian, Connop Thirlwall. In June, 1869, he gave his vote in another place for the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, and prefaced that vote by a

speech in which he incidentally touched on the alleged analogy between the case of Ireland and the case of Wales. He observed that in Wales Nonconformists were not divided, on any essential matter, from Churchmen, in a greater degree than some Churchmen were divided from others. I quote this remark for one purpose only: it shows that Thirlwall, a man of singular candour, was wholly unconscious, in 1869, of any general hostility or bitterness towards the Church on the part of Nonconformists in Wales. The phrase, "alien Church," as applied to the Church in Wales, is, in truth, of very recent coinage. I can give the House a convincing proof of that. When Mr. Watkin Williams, in 1870, introduced his Motion for disestablishment in Wales, he used these words:—

"The Church Establishment in Wales is an ancient and venerable institution. It is not, like the Church in Ireland, an alien Church, thrust upon the people by a conqueror and an oppressor. It is not, I think I am right in saying, regarded by the people with any feelings of hostility. Indeed, in many cases, it is regarded with feelings of veneration and affection."

When the Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for East Denbighshire (Sir G. Osborne Morgan), employed the phrase "alien Church" the other evening, he did not confine it to the historical sense of "alien," as denoting a Church of foreign origin, but also spoke of the Church as fundamentally foreign to the character and temper of the Welsh people; it was too "cold" and "formal" for them. In other words, he used the term "alien" so as to include the sense of "uncongenial." Those words, I confess, rang strangely in my ears. I could not help wondering whether the Right Hon. Gentleman remembered how, in the last century, great congregations flocked together in Wales, from the mouth of the Conway to the mouth of the Wye—and to hear whom? To hear the founders and leaders of the old Welsh Methodism—clergymen of the Church of England, who used the Anglican Liturgy. It is recorded that the impressive voice of Daniel

Rowlands was never heard with greater effect than when he recited the Litany of the Church: and by how many grave-sides in Wales have not Welsh hearts been touched and Welsh sorrow soothed by that most tender and pathetic of all religious formularies, the ritual which this "cold and formal" Church has appointed for the burial of the dead? Then can hon. members opposite forget one signal benefit with which this "alien Church" must be perpetually associated in the minds of Welshmen? They are justly proud of their native language; they regard it as a principal symbol of their nationality. The first complete version of the Scriptures in Welsh was brought out in 1588 by a clergyman of the Church of England, William Morgan, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, who revised Salesbury's Welsh version of the New Testament, and prefixed to it his own translation of the Old. This work was produced under the auspices of the then Archbishop of Canterbury. And when, a generation later (in 1620), a revised edition of Morgan's Bible—that which is still, I believe, in general use—appeared, by whose aid was it brought out? By that of Parry, Morgan's successor in the See of St. Asaph, and Dr. John Davies, Rector of Mallwyd in Merionethshire. A Welsh scholar has described this version as "the book which fixed the Welsh language, and is to all practical purposes the dictionary of the Welsh people." Thus, at a moment when this language, rightly dear to Welshmen, was drooping and ready to perish, it was enshrined in its noblest literary monument by the action of that ancient Mother, that so-called "alien Church," against which, of recent days, it has too often been uplifted in reproach and calumny. Now I would say a word on a topic already touched on by my Right Hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. A. J. Balfour). The Home Secretary, in his lucid explanation of the arrangements proposed with regard to the four Cathedrals in Wales, stated that, in the opinion of the Government, they "ought to be treated as national monuments." I must own that the phrase astonished me. The Cathedrals have

never been used, and were never intended, for any other purpose than the worship of the Church of England. If the Church in Wales is not a national but an alien Church, how can these monuments, the Cathedrals, be "national"? Or if the meaning is that, when transferred to the new triumvirate, they will become national, why then "monuments"?

I have now given one reason for the hope and the belief that a better understanding between Nonconformists and Churchmen in Wales is not so impossible as is assumed by Hon. Gentlemen opposite,—that reason, namely, which is suggested by the history of Welsh Nonconformity. My other reason is based upon the temper and tradition of the Anglican Church. The Church of England has had its shortcomings and failings, but at almost every period of its history it has known how to conciliate and attract; it has been an influence tending to soften the sharper conflicts of interests, to harmonise differences, to mitigate the causes of social strife, and to bring people of various classes and divergent opinions into relations of mutual goodwill, or at least of mutual forbearance. Look at the older and greater of the Nonconformist bodies in England at this day; their tendency is not in the direction of a wider separation in feeling from the Church; it is rather the reverse. Why should the same influence be doomed to perpetual sterility in Wales, and in Wales alone? If I were a Welshman, there is nothing that I should be more sorry to say, or to hear said, of my country, that it was the only part of the United Kingdom where the conduct of the people was inaccessible to an agency of conciliation, and where their ears were for ever sealed against a message of peace.

Suppose this Bill becomes an Act, and the Church in Wales is disestablished and disendowed; in Wales the consequences will fall most heavily on the poor. I have not uttered a syllable in disparagement of Nonconformist ministration; but it is recognised, I believe, by many earnest Nonconformists that the Church in Wales, through its parochial system, has been enabled to do a work which it was

not in their own power to do. If this Bill passes into law, the possibilities of such parochial work will be greatly circumscribed; and the poor will be the chief sufferers. Again, the partial diversion to educational purposes of funds taken from the Church will not compensate the poorest classes in Wales for the extinction or disablement of the Church Voluntary Schools; in the diocese of Llandaff alone there are now 30,000 children at those schools. Then turn from Wales to England at large, and consider what the effect will be, if the principle of this Bill should be embodied in law. Every diocese not already disestablished and disendowed will thenceforth exist at the mercy of local agitation. It will only be necessary to show, or to allege, that in Cornwall or Yorkshire a local majority exists against the Established Church, and the diocese concerned must go. The Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for East Denbighshire, said in 1870:—

"I do not like this long agony of piecemeal disestablishment. It is like putting a man to death by tearing him limb from limb."

Yes, it is like that—but with a difference. In ancient and in modern times we hear of men being slowly hacked to pieces; but that was not after a mere condemnation of a leg or an arm; it was after some sort of trial held, and some sort of judgment passed, on the person who was to be dismembered. I thank the House for the patience with which it has heard me—especially I thank those Hon. Gentlemen representing Wales from whom I differ so completely on this question; no word has fallen from me, I trust, which could embitter this great controversy: but I contend that, before this Bill pass into law, we who oppose it are entitled to ask that the Government should take the collective sense of the country upon the fate of the Church as a whole.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

IS THE CHURCH IN WALES

AN

ADVANCING CHURCH?

BY THE

REV. CANON BEVAN.

[*Reprinted from* NYE'S *Illustrated Church Annual, and Revised to April 5th*, 1893, *by the Writer.*]

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WESTMINSTER.
1893.

IS THE CHURCH IN WALES AN ADVANCING CHURCH?

By The Rev. Canon Bevan.

[Reprinted from Nye's *Illustrated Church Annual*, and Revised to April 5th, 1893, by the Writer.]

Persons unacquainted with Wales must be much perplexed by the widely varying accounts of the condition of the Church in that part of the country. Let us instance the Parliamentary debate of 1891 on the Disestablishment question. It opened with a speech from Mr. Pritchard Morgan, in which he used the most contemptuous terms of the Church as "a small sect," "a small minority," "a Church that had never produced a saint," with a clergy whose sole motive for activity was a fear of "losing the loaves and fishes," and which had won over from the ranks of Nonconformity only "a few weak-kneed mediocrities of no intellectual capacity"—with much more in the same strain. Mr. Gladstone, who next rose, and whose aid Mr. Morgan had invoked, forthwith proceeded, like Balaam of old, to pronounce a blessing instead of a curse, by declaring the Church in Wales to be "an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church," and (he added) "I hope very distinctly a rising Church from elevation to elevation." Could any two statements be more hopelessly irreconcilable? On which side does the truth lie, and on what evidence? If on the side more favourable to the Church, what is the aim and object of the gross exaggeration which must be used on the other side? As regards the question then before the House, exaggeration was not needed; for no one disputes that the Church is in a minority, and on that ground Mr. Gladstone went into the

same lobby with Mr. Pritchard Morgan for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales.*

The general public have probably made up their minds as to the comparative value of the two statements by the simple expedient of weighing the two speakers in the opposite scales of a balance, and judging as to which of the two is most entitled to credit. But it may be worth while to examine a little into the evidence on which each estimate is based, and how it has come to pass that such divergent conclusions have been reached. The evidence in support of the Church in Wales being an "advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church," is to be found in the statistical statements put forth from time to time on such subjects as church building and restoration, the supply of mission-rooms in parishes of excessive area or population, the multiplication of services, the increased number of confirmees, and so forth. It would be to no purpose to reproduce the figures relating to all these topics, inasmuch as there is no dispute as to the hard facts embodied in them. The broad allegation of Liberationists is that though so much has been done, the people have not responded to the appeal: the new churches (they say) are mere "brick and mortar," "skeleton churches" run up for the corrupt purpose of securing a larger amount of compensation under Disestablishment; and what few recruits have joined the ranks of the Church have been won over by a scandalous system of proselytism based on bribery and intimidation; and further, that even this increase has been confined to the towns, where there is a larger English-speaking population than in the country parishes. It is thus that Liberationists endeavour to neutralise

* Mr. Gladstone has done his best to neutralise the warmth of his commendation in 1891 by the studied depreciation of the Church in his recent speech on the Suspensory Bill. And the question might well be asked, Which are we to believe—the Mr. Gladstone of 1891 or the Mr. Gladstone of 1893? There can be no doubt as to which is most entitled to credit. In 1891 Mr. Gladstone, out of office, spoke from his heart as a man and a Churchman; in 1893, in office, as an Old Parliamentary Hand, doing the bidding of Welsh Liberationists, and ready to receive the "rewards of divination" at their hands in the shape of some thirty votes in support of his Irish Home Rule Bill. *Heu! quantum mutatus ab illo!*

the effect of such statistical *data* as the Church has to offer. Meanwhile, steadily rejecting the only means by which the truth can be ascertained, viz. an exhaustive official census, they keep the door open for any amount of exaggerated statements as to the strength of Nonconformity; and they claim that these should be accepted as furnishing evidence of the weakness of the Church. Their plan is, in short, to *crowd out* the Church.

Before proceeding to examine these statements, let it be clearly understood that our aim is simply to find out whether they furnish reliable evidence that the Church has *not* advanced. Even if the extremest statement of the Church's weakness could be proved to be the truth, we do not allow that it would justify such a measure of Disestablishment as is now proposed.* To apply the "minority" argument to a *fraction* of a body politic instead of to the *whole* body to which it belongs is a very questionable proceeding. And still more, to apply it without distinction to two such totally different measures as

* The injury that would be inflicted by *separate* Disestablishment in a case where there is no natural boundary between the severed portions would be very serious. The Church in Wales would find itself reduced to a condition of isolation, such as none of the Nonconformist bodies experience. These are all closely connected with cognate bodies in England: a Disestablished Church in Wales could not enjoy similar union with an Established Church in England. This isolation would be most painfully felt along the whole extended border of Wales, where there is no distinction, linguistic or otherwise, between parishes situated on opposite sides of the arbitrary boundary. It will be a novel and not a very pleasant sensation for some of us to look out from our windows in Wales on fields and houses placed under different ecclesiastical institutions from our own. Bishop Thirlwall (if we remember rightly) combated the idea that Irish would form a precedent for Welsh Disestablishment, by the argument that there was no Irish Channel between England and Wales. Liberationists hope to supply this deficiency of nature's by the erection of an artificial Offa's Dyke in the shape of religious, to be followed by political, separation. Should this unfortunately succeed, it will be in defiance of geographical considerations; for the two divisions of Wales, North and South, are more closely connected with England than they are with each other, the great lines of communication, natural and artificial, running east and west, while a central highland of hills and valleys interposes a barrier between north and south. Hence it comes that the most convenient spot for joint meetings is an English town—Shrewsbury. Wales has not, and never had, any town which could rank as a capital—a fact, the full significance of which will appear if Wales should ever be politically severed from England.

Disestablishment and Disendowment. For even if it be granted that majority is an essential condition of Establishment, it by no means follows that a body which cannot comply with that condition ought to have its property confiscated. The "minority" argument seems to apply with a very varying incidence to these two distinct subjects. Yet Disendowment is too often allowed to slip in without discussion as part of Disestablishment. This, however, by the way.

Liberationist orators seldom venture to state in plain figures their estimates of the number of Churchmen: they prefer to wrap up their ideas in the less palpable form of fractions and proportions, adopting sometimes the whole population, sometimes the Nonconformist population, as the other member of the comparison. Thus in the debate of 1892 Mr. Samuel Smith gave as his own estimate *one-fourth* of the whole population, and that of other authorities as *one-fifth*, while Mr. Lloyd-George pronounced it to be "at the best" *one-tenth*.* In order that our readers may realise the full meaning of these various fractions we will take the liberty of translating them into plain figures, assuming, for ease of calculation, the round number of 1,500,000 as the population of Wales. The three estimates above given would read as 375,000, 300,000, and 150,000—a somewhat wide range of conjecture! Mr. Dillwyn, in the debate of 1886, stated the proportion as *one-eighth*, and in proof of this produced figures which showed a proportion of between *one-sixth* and *one-seventh*; while in 1883 at Swansea, from precisely the same *data*, he had pronounced the propor-

* A palpable fallacy underlies all these attempts to define the position of the Church in Wales by the number of her active adherents. They all proceed on the assumption that the Church confines her ministrations entirely to those "within her fold" (to quote Mr. Asquith's expression in his speech on the Suspensory Bill); whereas it is part of her case that she renders valuable services and exercises a beneficial influence over those outside her fold, whether of the irreligious class, or of Nonconformist adherents. It will hardly be denied that in the department of *pastoral* work the Church does more than all the Nonconformist sects put together. And it is through her position as an Established and Endowed Church that she is enabled to render such services. It may be difficult to appraise the value of these ministrations by any statistical calculation; but that they form no slight element in the social and religious life of Wales is evidenced by the reluctance of Liberationists to submit to the ordeal of a general religious census.

tion to be *one-ninth*. On each occasion his *data* were wrong, his manipulation of the figures wrong, and his results (217,412 Church people in 1886, 142,639 in 1883) hopelessly and even scandalously wrong.

Turning to the other form of statement, we find Mr. (afterwards Judge) Watkin Williams in the debate of 1870 stating 1 to 10 as the proportion of Churchmen to Nonconformists in the opinion of many reliable authorities, 1 to 8 as Mr. H. Richard's estimate, while he himself would adopt 1 to 5 as one "which would hardly be disputed by Church people." In order to reduce these proportions to plain figures we must be supplied with the number of one or other of the two bodies. Mr. Pritchard Morgan in 1891 said that the Nonconformists were *five-sixths* of the population, say 1,250,000.* Mr. Dillwyn in 1886, professedly basing his calculation on the returns of the chief Nonconformist bodies, brought up their number by a series of blunders to 902,000. Now, if we combine Mr. Pritchard Morgan's estimate of five-sixths of the population for Nonconformists with Mr. Watkin Williams' estimate of 1 to 5 for Churchmen, we find ourselves landed in the difficulty of having exhausted the whole population without allowing for the non-religious section of the community. If, on the other hand, we combine Mr. Dillwyn's number of Nonconformists with the proportion of 1 to 10 as mentioned by Mr. Watkin Williams, we get the ludicrously small number of 90,000 for Churchmen. Between these extremes, various calculations might be made which would give further evidence of the fallaciousness of Liberationist statistics. But such evidence is perhaps not needed.

But Mr. Pritchard Morgan in 1891 asserted that he had *proved* that the Nonconformists had five-sixths of the popula-

* Where does Mr. Morgan find room for the 500,000 non-worshippers of whom Liberationist authorities tell? This non-worshipping class occupies an important place in Liberationist statistics: it serves as so much padding to reduce the number of Churchmen to the required amount. Thus Mr. Dillwyn in 1883 estimated them at 150,000, but in 1886 at 100,000, possibly because he found that he had got the number of Churchmen too low on the first occasion. There would be no difficulty, however, in reducing the Church to a *minus* quantity by the aid of this elastic item.

tion, and Mr. Lloyd-George in 1892 that it was *proved* that the Church only possessed one-tenth of the population. On what evidence did they rely? On Mr. Gee's census of 1887! An attendance census is, for several reasons, a favourite device of Liberationists: it is designed to shut out of view the fringe of Church *adherents*, who are not regular Church *attendants:* it harasses Churchmen, who abominate the whole proceeding as a profanation of the Lord's House and the Lord's Day: and when the proceeding is over, it gives a handle to its promoters to make sweeping accusations of unfair play against the Church, and enables them, under cover of this abuse, to repudiate the results of the census if they do not come up to their expectations. It was thus that Mr. H. Richard threw overboard the census of 1851, though it was unduly favourable to his side; but finding that the returns only yielded a proportion of about 1 to $3\frac{1}{2}$, he coolly substituted for that 1 to 8, and in his speech in 1871 made no reference whatever to the returns of *attendance*, though he enlarged on the returns of *accommodation*. It was thus again that Mr. Lloyd-George in 1892 accused Churchmen of artful "dodges" on the occasion of Mr. Gee's census. But he omitted to report to the House the biggest "dodge" of all in that most dodgy proceeding, namely, that Mr. Gee represented the number of Church attendants in South Wales as 89,047—figures which Mr. Pritchard Morgan quoted to the House in 1891. These figures (be it observed) were not communicated to the public until *four years after* the date of the census, during the whole of which period Mr. Gee had been gathering in returns made at his request by a *secret* census. In 1889 Mr. Dillwyn quoted the figures (which had been privately communicated to him) as 78,195; so that they increased by 11,000 in the two following years; and, after all, no less than 113 churches, and possibly a very much larger number, remained uncounted. Yet Mr. Gee has the hardihood to assert that this was the attendance on the 9th of January, 1887, and on such evidence as this Liberationist leaders claim the confiscation of Church property. The figures 89,047 in reality carried their own refutation with them, because they were so singularly at variance with the figures (87,438) assigned to the

Church in North Wales, the attendance in South Wales being (as Mr. Dillwyn pointed out) only about half of that in North Wales in proportion to the population. And such is the evidence by which Mr. Lloyd-George *proves* that the Church has only one-tenth of the population, and by which Mr. Pritchard Morgan *proves* that Nonconformity has five-sixths of the population!

Before we take leave of Mr. Lloyd-George's "one-tenth of the population," it may be well to explain what this implies: namely, that the Church has largely *receded* since 1851 in reference to the population. For, according to the census of that year, more than one-tenth were present at a *single* service; and it is not to be supposed that this represents the whole number of Church *attendants*, much less the whole number of Church *adherents*. We must double the number at the very least for either of these descriptions. Yet Mr. Lloyd-George now professes to draw from Mr. Gee's census the conclusion that the Church is not so strong by *one-half* now as it was in 1851. Does this commend itself to the judgment of our readers as likely to be the case?

It may be asked whether these estimates can be brought to the test of any independent statistical return. Sir William Harcourt in 1892 referred to the polling-booths as a satisfactory substitute for a religious census. We do not so regard them, partly because the returns are incomplete, and still more because the political bodies are not equivalent to the religious bodies. There are cross divisions and side issues, the effect of which is to transfer a considerable number of Churchmen (many of them men of great weight) to the side which is unfavourable to the claims of the Established Church, while very few Nonconformists are to be found on the opposite side. But as attention has been drawn to these returns, we may ask whether the proportion of 1 to 1·5 votes (in other words 2 to 3) which prevailed in the election of 1885 over four-fifths of the population of Wales gives support to the proportions of 1 to 10, 1 to 8, or even 1 to 4, as representing the numbers of Church adherents and Nonconformists respectively?

It may still be asked whether there are any considerations of

a non-statistical character which render it antecedently probable that the Church should have advanced, or which will serve to explain the vehement assertions of her political opponents that she has not advanced. We believe that there are such. And to take the latter point first. (1) Sectarian rivalry or animosity has, perhaps, had the widest influence in all these attempts to depreciate the Church. (2) The consuming desire for Disestablishment has tended in the same direction. (3) But above and behind these lurks the political object to which Disestablishment is a stepping-stone, viz. Home Rule. To this end *separate* Disestablishment is of the greatest importance : a *general* measure, applying equally to England and Wales, would not have the desired effect. In order to quicken the demand for Home Rule it is necessary to excite animosity against England; and the Church is used as an instrument for this purpose. All the wrongs which Wales has suffered, or is thought to have suffered, at the hands of England are fathered on the Church ; and the weakness of the Church, or rather the *degree* of that weakness, is constituted a gauge of the national indignation both against the Church and against England. Hence the opprobrious description of the Church as "alien,"* "anti-National," "English," "old Stranger" (*Hen Estrones*) as a substitute for the endearing title of "old Mother" (*Hen Fam*). Hence the Liberationist device of dubbing her by a new title as the "Church of England in Wales," as though there had not been a Church in Wales long before there was a Church of England, or as though there was some truth in Mr. Lloyd-George's absurd statement that the Church "came into Wales with mailed warriors." Hence Mr. H. Richard's acrimonious imputation that the name "Church of England" imports to

* The term "alien" as used by Welsh Nationalists has nothing to do with birthplace or origin, which is its proper signification, but is applied to persons or institutions favourable to the maintenance of the present relations, political or ecclesiastical, between Wales and England : it is thus nearly equivalent to the term Unionist. Hence the clergy are charged with alienism, though the great bulk of them, even in the English-speaking districts, are natives of Wales, ardently patriotic, and fully as competent to judge of the true interests of their country as are the advocates of a separatist policy.

the minds of the present generation "traditions of repugnance and hatred from the past, when England was the deadly enemy of Welsh freedom and independence." Hence, further, the constant references to abuses of bygone days, chiefly directed against the English bishops of the last century, who are said to have "inundated" the country with English clergy,* and to have considered it their mission to destroy, as far as possible, the language and nationality of Wales;† with much more to

* This charge of flooding Wales with English clergy requires to be defined and substantiated. The conclusion naturally drawn from it would be, that the bishops appointed natives of England as incumbents to Welsh-speaking parishes; but a close examination would probably show that such cases, though not unknown, were rare. The more common and better-founded charge is that they appointed their relations to posts of dignity, to sinecure rectories, and to parishes in which the English language was predominant. In St. Asaph diocese nepotism at one time prevailed to a serious extent; but even when it was at its height, Mr. Johnes, in his essay on the *Causes of Dissent in Wales*, specified only two cases of resident incumbents of Welsh-speaking parishes unable to minister in Welsh. In the large diocese of St. David's, extending over the greater part of South Wales, we have been unable to discover the family name of a bishop on the roll of the parochial clergy between 1700 and 1850; in the diocese of Bangor only three during the same period; and though we are not in a position to prove that in the former diocese no improper appointments were made, we are quite certain that they were not so numerous as to justify the charge of flooding Wales with English immigrants. If bishops did not appoint their relations, they were hardly likely to appoint strangers.

† The English episcopate in South Wales goes back to the time of Queen Elizabeth, and was undoubtedly due to the impoverishment of the Sees of St. David's and Llandaff, which required the supplementary aid of English preferments to supply them with adequate revenues. However disastrous such arrangements may have been for the spiritual work of those dioceses, there is no room for the supposition that they were the outcome of a deliberate policy for undermining the language and nationality of Wales. In North Wales the revenues of the Sees were supplemented from diocesan resources; but the bishops did not decline offers of translation to more eligible Sees outside Wales, and their places were filled with Englishmen. The continuity of the Welsh episcopate was broken in St. Asaph in the reign of Charles II., in Bangor permanently in the reign of George I. The change synchronises with the rise of government by Parliamentary parties, under which bishops were selected more with an eye to politics than to their adaptation to the circumstances of their dioceses. The system was a bad one—bad in England as well as bad in Wales—but this does not necessitate the theory of a hostile motive towards the latter country. It has happily been brought to an end, and bishops are now selected on the ground of their qualifications for their sacred office, and with a regard to the requirements of their dioceses—a condition which has been facilitated by the general equalisation of episcopal revenues.

the same effect. Can it be a matter of surprise that the spirit of exaggeration and misrepresentation which characterise such utterances in reference to the past history of the Church, should be reflected in the statistical statements by which they endeavour to disguise from the English public the fact of the Church's advance?

Turning to the other consideration, namely, whether there is a likelihood that the Church should be advancing, our space does not permit us to do more than point out certain special difficulties which have beset the Church in past times, and which have now been mitigated, though not wholly removed, by improved organisation and other agencies: for instance, the paucity of clergy, and consequently of services; the difficulty of adapting the parochial system to meet the requirements of a shifting population; the large area of many parishes; and the want of corporate action. But what has pressed on the Church with special severity, as compared either with the Church in England or with Nonconformity in Wales, has been the necessity of providing for the English-speaking as well as the Welsh-speaking elements of the population. While the Church has been largely bi-lingual, Nonconformity has been, until recently, almost wholly uni-lingual, and this difference has operated to the prejudice of the Church in a variety of ways which we cannot stay to describe.* The difficulty still

* It is well-nigh impossible to convey to the minds of English Churchmen the full extent of the difficulties which bilingualism has imposed on the Church in Wales. It is obvious that it can only be effectually met by a duplication of clergy and buildings; but this is, of course, out of the question in country parishes, and would require a very large increase of revenue. Unfortunately, bilingualism and poverty are found hand in hand in Wales; the funds are in inverse ratio to the needs of the Church. The practical inconveniences of having to provide for the two languages within the walls of the same church might perhaps be explained to English readers. But what cannot be explained is the loss of *prestige* which the Church has suffered through the necessity of offering ministrations to the English-speaking population. It has enabled Nonconformity to pose as a more thoroughly Welsh institution; and it has given a handle to Liberationists to charge the Church with an Anglicising spirit. Yet the Church has done no more than her duty towards her adherents, and towards the country at large; for it will hardly be contended that it would have been for the good of Wales that the English-speaking residents should be driven out of the country for want of Church ministrations. The Church and Nonconformity are not on an equal footing in this matter.

remains; but Nonconformity is beginning to participate in it, and the day may not be far off when the two bodies will be placed on a level in regard to this most important condition. At no period of the present century has the Church been so well (though still very inadequately) equipped for her work as at present, and this ought to favour the presumption that she has already become the *advancing* Church which statistics represent her to be.

A further consideration may, we trust without presumption, be adduced on the same side. We refer to the general *tone* and *temper* of the Church in the very trying and harassing circumstances of her present position. She is doing her proper work of forwarding the spiritual and social interests of the people—restoring and beautifying her ancient fanes, building new churches and mission-rooms where they are required, improving the endowments of the poorer livings, erecting parsonages, and launching new schemes of practical utility; she is so engaged just as if the Liberation Society had never existed, or as if the threats of wholesale confiscation of the old parish churches, endowments ancient and modern, parsonages, &c., had never been uttered. In the midst of all this hostility and discouragement she is exhibiting the "quietness and confidence" to which is attached the scriptural promise of "strength;" and in these respects—general tone and temper —we think that few will question the reasonableness of Mr. Gladstone's belief that she is "distinctly rising from elevation to elevation."

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A SPEECH

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IN

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ON

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MR. GLADSTONE ON THE CHURCH IN WALES.

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on Mr. Pritchard Morgan's motion in favour of Disestablishment in Wales, on Friday, Feb. 20, 1891, Mr. Gladstone said:—

"I feel myself, Sir, indebted to the courtesy of the hon. member opposite, who is to move the amendment to this motion, for having waived his claim to press that amendment immediately after the speech of the seconder of the motion. I am bound to say that I am glad to have an early opportunity of intervening in the debate, because I do not think that I am able to adopt wholesale all the statements made by the hon. member who brought forward this motion in his comprehensive speech. I shall exercise a just right in stating to the House, in my own tone and manner, my views on the question, and in dealing with the subject in a way less likely to sharpen the opposition than my hon. friend found it necessary for himself to adopt, with the views he takes of the present action of the Established Church in Wales.

"If I go back for a period of fifty years—and my own knowledge of Wales has extended over the full range of that term—I could not speak of the Established Church in Wales at that period as I am able to speak of it now. At that period its administration was undoubtedly open in many ways to very heavy censure, and

Fifty Years Ago and Now.

feebleness was everywhere—or almost everywhere—manifest in its discharge of its duties. At present, however, the case is different.

"I do not look at this motion of my hon. friend with a disposition to apply the microscope to its wording, because I might be obliged to say that it does not coincide with my own views in one or two particulars. In the first place, I do not think that there is great historical precision in the words which the motion adopts, though I understand the motives leading to their adoption. There is, for instance, a phrase which describes the Established Church in Wales as the Church of England in Wales. As far as I know the history of the case—and I have done my best to acquaint myself with it, though I believe that there is no standard work on the history of the Established Church in Wales during the whole of the long period over which it has existed—but as far as I know that history, we might really speak with as much justice of the Church of Wales in England as of the Church of England in Wales.

Mr. Pritchard Morgan's Inaccuracies.

"We know that towards the close of the sixth century of the Christian era—and I hope that the House will not be dismayed at my going back so far, for I will certainly pass over the intermediate period when England was still barbarous to a great extent, and wholly dechristianized in the south and centre—Christianity was flourishing in the northern extremity—which was in partnership with Scotch Christianity—and also in portions of the west, which were connected with Wales. For St. Augustine or his representatives—the missionaries sent by Pope Gregory VIII.—were met by bodies of Welsh Christians, who represented the Christian Church existing in the country from a very early time, and reinforced by refugee British, who were driven by the Anglo Saxon pressure into these western districts. These were the true representatives of the Church in Wales, which Church has, as far as I am aware, continued from that day to this—that is, looking at it from without and in its corporate capacity. This is a very curious history—the history of the

The History of the Church in Wales.

Church in Wales. It would be difficult to find in any portion of Christendom a more signal example of magnanimous and self-denying conduct on the part of the body of the people than the effort which has been made—especially during the present century—by the Nonconformists of Wales to make a provision for their own religion. It is not to be asserted that at all periods the Welsh people have felt the deficiency of that provision.

"It is a very curious fact that what is termed the Anglican administration, as it operated in Wales, conferred upon the people of Wales one very great and signal blessing, which was highly appreciated by them, and that was the introduction of their mother-tongue into the services of the Church. It was a thing which could be dispensed with perhaps in England, where the language was strong, and where its roots ran through every fibre of the community. But in Wales the language was weak, drooping and losing ground; and it was owing to the introduction of the mother-tongue into the services of the Church that the Welsh people were, for a long time after the Reformation, Established Churchmen. My hon. friend will find testimony to that fact in the history of Mr. Hallam, and in other historical authorities. In point of fact, no person could have more conclusively established the point than has the hon. member himself to-night; because he went back—and I am very much obliged for the interesting information which he gave us—to the year 1676; and he showed us that at that time, while the strength of the Church was represented by 391,000 persons, the strength of Nonconformity at that period—that is to say, the strength of Puritanism—was only 10,000. It would have been impossible at that period—if my hon. friend had been a member of the House of Commons in 1676 instead of in 1891—it would have been impossible for him at that time to have made a motion to the effect that the Church in Wales had failed to fulfil its professed object, and ministered only to a smal minority of the population.

The Debt Due to the Church.

"After that came a period most unhappy and most deplorable

for Wales, when the Welsh language was put aside, and when, in neglect of native claims, Englishmen came in to occupy every bishopric, every deanery, and every benefice that was thought to be desirable. Then the Welsh people were driven, as I may say, into the wilderness, and then the Welsh people, who are now and who have always been a most devout and religious people, felt the grievous necessity under which they were placed, and they set about what was, for them, the gigantic effort of providing the means, the ordinances, and the material appliances of religion. That is the case; and it is a circumstance of great satisfaction to me that, in approaching the question as it now stands, I have nothing to do but to confess my sincere and hearty congratulations for both sides.

A Period of Neglect.

"I believe that there is great activity in the Welsh Church. I have seen it grow under my own eyes. I am not now speaking of my own parish. That is a large, populous parish, where the Welsh tongue has never been native, and which is, like many other parishes in Wales, much more Welsh than English in its circumstances. But I do not hesitate to say that though I believe the precepts of Nonconformity are not narrowing, that the energy of Nonconformity is not diminished; that it retains its place in the hearts of the mass of the people; yet the efforts and exertions of the Church now and for a good many years, and the growing and increasing efforts, are such as do, in my opinion, great credit to the energy both of the clergy and the laity of that Church. I render them ungrudging recognition; and I do not think it my duty on this occasion to withhold any portion of the praise which is their due.

Present Life and Activity.

"A representation was made to me to-day by a dignitary of the Established Church, and it is this. He founded himself on a book which is an Anglican authority—the 'Official Year Book of the Church of England'—and which may be termed, in a certain sense, authoritative, and which is friendly to the Established Church in Wales. What he told me was this. That the rental of

The Liberality of Welsh Churchmen.

Wales, as compared with the total rental of England and Wales, was 4 per cent.; that the population of Wales, as compared with the total population of England and Wales, was 6 per cent. But that the contributions of Churchmen towards religious objects and the support of the Church in Wales, as compared with the total contributions of England and Wales to the same objects was not 4 per cent. or 6 per cent., but no less than 14 per cent. That is a statement which contrasts with the painful, with the extremely disgraceful records of the past which is now becoming remote; and in endeavouring to do justice to Wales I find myself not in the slightest degree able, any more than I am disposed, to found this motion upon the idea that there is on the part of the clergy of the Established Church in Wales the slightest tendency or disposition to neglect their duty, or that there is not abundant evidence of the inspiring efforts—and in many cases the very self-denying efforts—which they make to extend the administration of the Church.[1]

English Immigration.

"I quite agree with my hon. friend in one point, which is not immaterial. He says, with perfect truth, that there is a very considerable English immigration into Wales. There is a mining immigration which leads to an English demand in the matter of religion, although I believe it is also a remarkable circumstance that the families of these English miners ultimately become Welsh, adopt the Welsh language, and tend to swell the number of persons speaking Welsh. But at the same time there is an English immigration. There is also a very considerable immigration of English to the watering-places of Wales. That may account for some portion of the remarkable figures which the defenders of the Established Church are able to allege on their own behalf; but I do not think that it at all abates what has been said in regard to the increasing devotion of the people, as well as of the ministers and governors of the Church, in the prosecution of their duties.

Then 'Why Interfere.'

"Then the question is asked, 'Why interfere with this state of things?' If the Church is active and progressive, and if the Nonconformists are contented, why interfere?

"But, Sir, the Nonconformists are not contented; and the question is whether they are entitled to be contented. The Nonconformists are making in the most distinct terms, in a voice very audible indeed, and governed with all the forms of the constitution, a demand which I for one think it my duty to listen to, and which I feel convinced before any great length of time has elapsed, even quite irrespective of the present divisions of party, this House will have to listen to and will be disposed to listen to. I agree with almost everything that was said by my hon. friend the seconder of this motion, who spoke with a weight which belongs to his high character and his long devotion to this cause. I think he is perfectly right in what he said with respect to the vivid sentiment of nationality in Wales. I do not think that the Welsh people are disposed to make inconvenient claims on that subject. I believe that whatever they ask will be confined within the bounds of reason and moderation. But I do think that my hon. friend is entirely justified in stating that that sentiment exists, and exists with great force and activity, in Wales; and that the people of Wales will ask, and will expect, and, so far as they constitutionally can, even will insist, that in the proceedings of the British Parliament due regard shall be had to these several and distinct claims which the Welsh people within their own bounds and limits are warranted in making."

Must Defer to Nonconformist Demands.

After a good-humoured reference to the declaration of Lord Hartington with regard to Disestablishment in Scotland as being a question for the people of Scotland, and observing that "the parallelism in the case of Scotland and Wales has yet to be confirmed," Mr. Gladstone proceeded:—

"I do not question that I shall be fairly and properly saluted with citations from a speech of my own on a former occasion I do not remember exactly in what year. (Sir G. Trevelyan —1870.) Twenty-one years ago! Since that time I have had

time to be born again and come of age. The passage to which reference is made is to the effect that it was impossible to separate the Church of Wales from the Church of England. I may have used that expression. I think it very possible that when the question of Disestablishment in Wales was proposed, more as the judgment of an individual or group of individuals than as the distinct expression of a strong, deliberate, and pervading national sentiment—it is quite possible that I may have used that expression which may, when strictly regarded, be found to involve an element of exaggeration I might have said in my judgment that it was impossible to reconstruct and readjust the income-tax in this country; but, at the same time, if the people of England, in their deliberate mind and by an overwhelming majority, arrive at the conclusion that that was to be done, it would be the duty of members of Parliament to set about it and do it.

Can the Case of Wales be Separated from that of England?

"I say now what I believed then, and what I believe now, that the operation of disestablishing the Church of Wales from the Church of England will not be an easy one. I suspect it will be found that it is tied and knotted and tangled, I might also say, in such a multitude of legal bonds or meshes with the general body of the Church of England, that it would be a very formidable matter indeed to accomplish this untying purpose. I think the mover of this motion was wise in not having made any such attempt, which, if it is to be done, is to be done by the Government; and I have not the least doubt that it will require all the skill, all the knowledge, all the care, all the sense of equity and moderation that it will be possible to bring to bear upon it, in order to carry through that work in a satisfactory manner."

Disestablishment of Welsh Church not an Easy Task.

Having rallied the Tory party on the "impossible" questions which they had subsequently found possible, and having insisted that "undoubtedly the Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and I

hope very distinctly a rising Church from elevation to elevation," Mr. Gladstone concluded by saying that in the face of a large majority of Welsh members being pledged to support disestablishment, he could no longer resist their demand, and expressed his conviction that "the people of England, who are eminently a just people, will give and will insist on giving to Wales in respect of her reasonable demands the same just, equitable, and conclusive settlement which in the like circumstances I believe they would claim for themselves."

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THE CHURCH IN WALES.

A SPEECH

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE RESOLUTION OF

Mr. (now Mr. Justice) **WATKIN WILLIAMS.**

TENTH THOUSAND.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

LONDON:
THE CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION,
9, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.
1895.

The following are the circumstances under which this speech was delivered:

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS, M.P. for Denbigh, having moved "That in the opinion of this House, it is right that the Establishment of the Church and its union with the State should cease to exist in the Dominion and Principality of Wales."

Mr. GLADSTONE, then Prime Minister, at once rose to reply, and after speeches from Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN in favour of the Resolution, and from Mr. SCOURFIELD against it, the House divided.

Ayes	45
Noes	209
Majority against the Resolution ...	164

The *Times* of the following day, May 25th, 1870, remarked—"What possible end could Mr. Watkin Williams have hoped to obtain by his researches into the early History of Christianity in the Principality? He must have foreseen that Mr. Gladstone knew much more about this subject than he. The Prime Minister absolutely revelled in the opportunity so rarely afforded him of discoursing upon a topic so nearly akin to his earliest and dearest studies. There was not a point on which Mr. Gladstone did not prove his knowledge superior to that of the mover of the Resolution."

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am sure that even those who may most widely differ from the opinions and the purposes of my hon. and learned friend, will be ready to admit that they have nothing to complain of in regard to the spirit and the language with which he has treated a very difficult and intricate subject. And indeed, by the candour of his admissions, he has opened and made ready a way for persons who either differ from him in principle, or who think, as he himself said, that the time and circumstances under which he makes his proposal would not justify the House in entertaining it with a practical view. My hon. and learned friend has entered into an historical discussion of great interest; but I am bound to say that, having been led to give some attention to this aspect of the subject, I am not able to read the history of Wales precisely in the same sense as my hon. and learned friend; and yet I do not think that, as far as my view varies from his, it is likely to offend him, because I am disposed to attach even much greater consequence to that unwise and unnational policy which was pursued for a great length of time by this country towards Wales, and of which Church appointments were unfortunately made the medium. But now let us look at the main questions which are raised. I cannot be surprised that my hon. and learned friend is struck—as, indeed, everybody must be struck—with the gravity of the facts which attach to the condition of the Church in Wales. There is, to a certain extent, a resemblance between the case of the Church in Wales and the case of the Church of Ireland; but that resemblance ought not to be exaggerated. Let us consider and endeavour to compare them with respect to numbers. My hon. and learned friend says the Churchmen of Wales may be reckoned at about one-sixth of the population. I believe, however, that the churchmen themselves, and those who write in the interests of the Church, are accustomed to claim about one-fourth of the population. But, whichever of these figures may be the nearer to the truth, no doubt the disproportion is very remarkable in the case of a Church purporting to be the

Church of the nation. It is not, indeed, at all in correspondence with the disproportion which prevailed in Ireland, because there one-ninth or one-tenth of the population was the utmost at which the members of the Established Church could be reckoned. There is one other point in regard to which the Welsh Church corresponds—I use the expression for the sake of convenience—with that of the Irish Church; it is that so large a proportion of her members belong to the upper classes of the community—the classes who are the most able to provide themselves with the ministrations of religion—and therefore in whose special and peculiar interest it is most difficult to make any effectual appeal for public resources and support. But, sir, with regard to other points of not less consequence, the case of the Welsh Church is certainly widely different from that of the Irish Church. In the first place, it is quite impossible to compare the severance between the Established Church and the Nonconformists of Wales with the severance between the members of the Irish Establishment and the Roman Catholics in that country. Not merely upon theological grounds, but also on the ground of actual sympathy or hostility of sentiment, the whole history of the case is entirely different. There was a strong and sharp antagonism between the Established Church and Roman Catholic Church running through Ireland, and that ecclesiastical antagonism was complicated and embittered by intermixture with political questions, even graver than the ecclesiastical controversies of the country; so that the effect of the whole was that the several portions of the population were placed almost in an attitude of standing social hostility to each other. Now, whatever view we take of the anomalies of the position of the Church in Wales, I am sure my hon. and learned friend will admit it would be a gross exaggeration to profess that anything like a resemblance of the general position exists as between Wales and Ireland, or in the attitude of the members of the Church in Wales, on the one hand, or the members of the Nonconforming bodies, on the other.

Again, the religious differences of Ireland had their root in the ancient history of the country. The religious differences which prevail in Wales are entirely modern. My honourable and learned friend, in the statistics which he has quoted from the year 1801, has marked that which is familiarly known to those who have considered the case of Wales, namely, that the growth of Dissent in that country has been not less recent than it has been rapid. Ever since 1801, which in questions of national history must be considered no very remote date, the figures

quoted by my honourable and learned friend show that the position of the Church relatively to Nonconformity has greatly altered for the worse.* These things show that if, from any cause, the discussion of the question of the Irish Church has led to this early discussion of the case of the Church in Wales, still it would be a most precipitate and erroneous conclusion to assume that there was a substantial identity or similarity between them, even if we confine our views strictly to what is between the limits of Ireland, in the one case, and within the limits of Wales, in the other. With regard to the facts, there is no very great difference, perhaps, between my hon. and learned friend and myself, because the precise figures and precise proportions are not now at issue, and I own I think it creditable to the discernment and good sense of my hon. and learned friend that he regretted the want of accurate and trustworthy information to enable us to appreciate the real facts of the case as regards the several religious opinions in Wales. I know in some former years there have been sharp differences of opinion in this house in respect to the best mode of getting at these facts. Certainly we must feel that the absence of that information is a misfortune, and if it be possible to devise some methods of obtaining real and accurate information in this matter—methods attended with no practical difficulties, and not repugnant to the feelings of the people—an object of some importance will have been attained.

Now, sir, my hon. and learned friend says that the cause of Welsh dissent is the conviction of the people, founded upon the study of the Holy Scriptures, that there is no warrant in the Christian religion for the existence of national religious establishments. If my hon. and learned friend will permit me to say so, without intending him any disrespect, I must say that my hon. and learned friend has, in my opinion, entirely failed to prove that such is the case. Sufficient proof of what I say is to be found in this—that although it is true Welsh Nonconformity had taken root in the country, and had become the popular religion of the country somewhat more than half-a-century ago, my hon. and learned friend would have found it most difficult, if not absolutely impossible, at that time to discover the slightest traces of controversy with regard to religious establishments. It has not been a question with regard to national establishments of religion that has had anything to do with the growth of Welsh

* A reference to an Essay by Canon Bevan (Hay. J. Horden, 1881), and the Charge of the Bishop of St. Davids (Rivingtons, 1883), will show that in the past ten years, the tide has again turned, and the progress of the Church been very remarkable.

dissent. That is an historical challenge which I hold out to my hon. and learned friend. I am persuaded that he has fallen into an anachronism in what he has stated. My hon. and learned friend has indicated other causes as the growth of Welsh Dissent. But in my opinion, the cause is to be found in the cruel and irrational policy that was pursued, even for a longer period than has been stated by my hon. and learned friend, in regard to the ecclesiastical appointments in that country. As I understand the matter, the state of things before and after the period of the Revolution was this—the accession of the Tudor family to the Throne was the epoch at which the sun of royal favour began to shine upon Wales. The territory of Wales was defined, the laws of England were extended to Wales, and so far from quoting the case of the translation of the Scriptures into the Welsh tongue as an instance illustrating the unkind treatment which Wales has suffered at the hands of this country, I should rather feel inclined to quote it in support of an opposite argument. Whatever may have been the case in the time of Henry VIII., we have it on record that in the reign of Elizabeth—and contrast this treatment with that of Ireland—efforts, and effectual efforts, were made towards accomplishing the translation of the Scriptures into the Welsh language, and in the reign of James I. that work was satisfactorily accomplished. And here I may remark that I honoured the national feeling and courage of my hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) when, some weeks ago, in the debate on the Education Bill, referring to the high esteem which Englishmen placed upon the English Bible he stated that he preferred the Welsh Bible, because it was finer, just in proportion as the Welsh tongue was finer than the tongue of this country. It was at this early period that that version with which, I am sorry to say, I have no acquaintance, was made, and what was the course that was pursued with regard to appointments in the Welsh Church? There is not a more curious fact in English history than this: there are but four sees in Wales, and yet, between the reign of Henry VIII. and the Revolution, no less than forty-four Welshmen were appointed to fill them. Not only, too, were the real Welsh sees occupied by Welshmen, but Welshmen overflowed into this country, and received preferment in England. That was the policy pursued in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts. And what was the consequence? Puritanism, which was strong in England, at that period, did not exist in Wales at all. It is a remarkable fact, as stated by Hallam, that Wales was one of the strongholds of the Church and of the Royal—or, as it afterwards became, the

Jacobite—party in the great struggle during the reign of Charles I. So far, then, it appears that so long as the sympathies of the nation were cultivated, the Church of Wales was perfectly acceptable to the people of Wales. And so matters continued till the Revolution. It is at that Revolution I would place the turning-point of Dissent. How many Welsh bishops have been made since the Revolution? Two.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS: Yes.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Not more, certainly. But there was a complete change of policy in this respect. William III. looked on Welsh-speaking Welshmen just as he looked on Gaelic-speaking Highlanders, and Irish-speaking Irishmen, as no friends to him and his new political system, and one plan towards all was pursued. It was thought good policy and good statesmanship to place every office of weight and influence in Wales in the hands of those who, he fondly hoped, would Anglicise the country. That was the root of the misery. No doubt that the rise of Dissent in Wales was attributable to this cause; and, as my hon. and learned friend said truly, it was among the clergy of Wales themselves that the first indications of a religious movement opposed to the chief religious authorities of the country appeared. I believe in the picture my hon. and learned friend has drawn of the gross neglect, corruption, and nepotism—one cannot call it less than plunder—of the Church of Wales through a number of these Anglicising prelates. On that point I believe it is impossible to accuse my hon. and learned friend of any exaggeration; but it is a proposition completely sustained by history, that the people of Wales were the staunchest Churchmen in the country as long as their church was administered in the spirit of sympathy to their national feelings; whereas, there is little room left to doubt that Wales is that portion of the country where Dissent has the deepest root and firmest organisation, and claims the direct allegiance of the largest portion of the people. Whether that is to change or not I cannot say. My hon. and learned friend has done me no more than justice in his allusion to the part which I took in filling up a vacant Welsh see; and I can assure the House that it was with no political view that recommendation was made. That recommendation was made with a view to the religious interests of the country, and whether the cause of the Church of Wales is capable of being materially improved or not is a question which I have never asked myself. At any rate, I hope that the policy which has prevailed, more or less, for 30 years, and which, I trust, has been largely developed in the instances to which my hon. and learned friend has referred,

will be steadily adhered to, and that the Welsh Church will be administered in a spirit consonant with the feelings of the people, and characterised by a feeling of respect and sympathy for their usages and history.

My hon. and learned friend states that the Church of Wales is a complete separate Church; and here he comes to what I would call the difficult part of his case, because, except for the sake of truth and conventional purposes, there is really no Church in Wales. The Welsh sees are simply four sees held by the suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and form a portion of the province as much as any four English sees in that province. My hon. and learned friend says, and shows, that there was a time when the Welsh Church was a separate Church. No doubt that is perfectly true; but, at the same time, it is necessary to go back nearly 1,300 years for the purpose of proving that distinct and separate existence, and 1,300 years form a period in which the waves of time effectually efface any footprints that may have been made on the sands.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS: Seven hundred years.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think my hon. and learned friend does not wish me to enter upon the point of the real nature of the union which occurred at the time of St. Augustine?

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS: There was no union, even in form, until after the death of Griffith, the late Archbishop of Wales, in 1115, who was succeeded by Bernard, the lawyer.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am willing to make my hon. and learned friend a present of those 600 years for the purpose of the present discussion, and to say that as regards the identity of these Churches, the whole system of known law, usage and history has made them completely one. My hon. and learned friend should reflect that it was not by the action of Rome that the whole of England was converted after the Saxon invasion. The history of Christianity has shown that a very large portion of England was converted not by the action of Roman missionaries, but from the North; and my hon. and learned friend might just as well set up the doctrine of a separate Church for the northern portion of England as for Wales. There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England. After hearing the latter sentences of my hon. and learned friend's speech, I can hardly say for what he recommends us to vote; but he entertains the opinion that "it is right that the Establishment of the Church, and its union with the State should cease to exist in the said dominion

and principality of Wales." I will not say what it would be right to do, provided Wales was separated from England in the same way that Ireland is, and provided that the case of Wales stood in full and complete analogy to that of Ireland in regard to religious differences. But the direct contrary of this is the truth. I think, therefore, it is practically impossible to separate the case of Wales from that of England. That is not my assertion alone, it is evidently the belief of my hon. and learned friend himself. He has not said that we can disestablish the Church in Wales and leave the Church of England established. Nay, more, he has gone very far indeed towards saying the reverse, because he said :—

"It may be said, 'If you disestablish the Church in Wales you must, upon the same grounds, disestablish it also in Cornwall and Yorkshire;' and in answer to that I say, as a Welshman, 'Let Cornwall and Yorkshire look after themselves.' I will add that whenever those places wish to disestablish their Church they shall have my hearty support."

I am not making any unfair assumption, or endeavouring to entrap my hon. and learned friend into an admission that he does not intend to convey, when I say that the real question which he endeavoured to raise was the disestablishment of the Church of England. The candour of my hon. and learned friend is not less remarkable than the clearness with which he has treated the subject, and he has stated frankly and fairly that which, even if it had not been stated, would have been sufficiently obvious. We are not prepared to enter upon any crusade for that purpose. We do not think it our duty, in the first place, to endeavour to determine that question by any abstract arguments about national Establishments. If there are those who consider that national Establishments are opposed, under all circumstances, to the principle of the Christian religion, we do not belong to the number of such persons. It is our duty to look at the case of the Church of England as we find it. It is our duty to look at the facts and principles of the case, and to the feelings and convictions of the people with regard to it. In the first place, we are encountered at the threshold of the question by the old statistical controversy, with regard to which we seem to have been thus far rather too much in the condition of men who are determined to keep themselves in the dark; but we look to such communications as we have at our command, such as the returns of marriages in the country, for I take them to be a not unfair indication of the relative amount of strength of the religious communities in zealous, intelligent, and attached

members ; and it is their strength in that sort of vague adhesion which is all that in many cases a national Church is likely to command and to retain, which is one of the purposes for which it exists, I am bound to say my belief is that the Established Church of England is the religion of a considerable majority of the people of this country. I can only say that independently of that which appears to establish a good *prima facie* ground for remaining where we are, I do not envy my hon. and learned friend, or my hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil, or any other man who ventures to take in hand the business of disestablishing the Church of England. Even if it were as fit to be done as I think it unfit, there is a difficulty in the case before which the boldest man would recoil. It is all very well as long as we deal with abstract declarations put upon the Notice Paper of this House, of what might be done or ought to be done ; but only to go up to the walls and gates and look at the way in which stone is built upon stone, on the way in which the foundations have been dug, and the way they go down into the earth, and consider by what tools, what artillery you can bring that fabric to the ground. I know the difficulties, and I am not prepared in any shape or form to encourage—by dealing with my hon. and learned friend's motion in any way except the simple mode of negative—the creation of expectations which it would be most guilty, most unworthy, most dishonourable on our part to entertain, lest we should convey a virtual pledge. We cannot go in that direction ; we do not intend to do so ; we deprecate it, and we should regard it as a national mischief. Under these circumstances I hope the House will be prepared to meet with a negative the motion of my hon. and learned friend, and without the slightest reproach to him, or to those whom he represents, because we believe it is neither called for by the circumstances, nor agreeable to the desires and convictions of the people of this country.

Hansard's Debates, Vol. 201, pp. 1291–99, May 24th, 1870.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT

THE CHURCH IN WALES.

BY THE

RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

A Lecture,

DELIVERED AT TRURO, ON NOVEMBER 7, 1889.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CHURCH IN WALES.

THE following lecture was delivered by the Bishop of St. Asaph, on Thursday evening, November 7, 1889, at the Concert Hall, Truro, the chair being taken by the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe:—

THE present position of the Church in Wales cannot justly or adequately be explained without some reference to its past history. I do not think that any competent person has attempted to question the statement made by Mr. Gladstone that "the Welsh Sees are simply four Sees held by the suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury and form a portion of the province as much as any four English Sees in that province." The attempt to prove that the Church in Wales is "a complete, separate Church" has practically been abandoned, and is only now repeated by those who are indifferent to their own reputation for accuracy and trustworthiness. Again, to quote Mr. Gladstone's words, "it is practically impossible to separate the case of Wales from that of England." And he goes on to prove that the real question raised by the advocates of Disestablishment in Wales is "the Disestablishment of the Church in England."

The Identity of the Church of England and Wales.

It is remarkable that the very people who started this theory of a separate Church in Wales should almost in the same breath have formulated against the Church in Wales the charge "of being throughout its whole history an alien Church, the church of the conqueror and invader." Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that those who had the hardihood to give

The Church in Wales not Alien.

currency to these historical inaccuracies should not have the intelligence to perceive their inconsistency. This charge of alienism cannot be answered more correctly or completely than in these words of Mr. Gladstone's: "It is a proposition completely sustained by history that the people of Wales were the staunchest Churchmen in the country, as long as their Church was administered in the spirit of sympathy to their national feelings." To this admirable statement I now simply add the historical fact that less than 200 years ago the whole Welsh nation were Churchmen, and not nominal Churchmen, but conspicuous for their loyalty and devotion to the Church. Mr. Stuart Rendel, a Welsh patriot, whose patriotism is entirely free from any connection with Wales either by birth, language, residence or possessions, has the credit of having formulated the following statement:— "Nonconformity a century back evangelised Wales, and the Church of England prior to that time had reduced Wales almost to heathenism." Side by side with Mr. Rendel's statement I put that of Mr. Gladstone made last year at Wrexham: "The mass of the people believe that the Welsh people have been a very religious people for a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty years: but there are a great many who are in the habit of saying that before that time the Welsh were a very godless people. This is a place, I hope, of freedom of opinion: and will you allow me to say I don't believe a word of it?" I will not weary the meeting with statistics, but I have gone very carefully into the evidence on this point, and I state without hesitation that Welsh Nonconformity is in truth the outgrowth of what is called the Methodist Revival, and Welsh Calvinistic Methodism as a Nonconforming body only dates back as far as 1811, when by the ordination of their own Ministers that body separated from the Church. It is a most important point to remember with regard to the religious condition of Wales that Welsh Nonconformity is practically less than 80 years old.

Now it is no doubt true that the last century was marked

by religious indifference in England and Wales, but that indifference was less conspicuous in Wales than in England. I can prove from authentic records with regard to my own diocese, extending over the whole of that century and applying to every parish in the Diocese, that the number of communicants was large, and that the ministrations of the Church, the state of poverty and disorganisation in which she had been left after the Commonwealth being remembered, were by no means as scanty as they have been represented. You will understand what this confusion must have been when I tell you that during the Commonwealth there were less than 100 Ministers for 700 Parishes in South Wales, and that as late as the year 1720 there were in the Diocese of St. David's 37 livings under £50 a year, 42 under £40, 60 under £30, 29 under £20, 39 under £15, 57 under £10, and 29 under £5. I do not wish to minimise or palliate the failings of the Church during the last century in Wales, but I do say that any unbiassed or dispassionate man who will take the trouble to master the evidence must come to the conclusion that those failings have been grossly and unfairly exaggerated.

Church Life and Difficulties in the last Century.

Some of that evidence I will give as briefly as possible. In 1721 Dr. Erasmus Saunders published a book on the state of religion in the Diocese of St. David's—a book written with evident candour, truthfulness and knowledge—and this is what he says of the Welsh People:—"An extraordinary disposition to religion prevails among the people of this country. There is, I believe, no part of the nation more inclined to be religious and to be delighted with it than the poor inhabitants of these mountains. They do not think it too much, when neither ways nor weather are inviting, over cold and bleak hills to travel three or four miles or more to attend the public prayers." He goes on to describe how "the servants and shepherds met for mutual instruction and edification, and how they delighted in the composing and singing of divine hymns consisting either of the doctrinal and historical parts

"An Extraordinary Disposition to Religion."

of Scriptures. or of the lives and worthy acts of eminent saints." A return is given in 1710 for the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, and in this return is given the number in each parish who could read Welsh. I take six typical parishes, each being a rural parish. In these parishes there were 265 families and 167 poor people could read Welsh. As the return only gives the poor people who could read Welsh, you will see at once that the average is high. Moreover during the fifty years which immediately preceded the earliest appearance of the Methodist movement within the Church, a period which, if we accept Mr. Stuart Rendel's statement, must have been as gross in darkness as the hour that precedes the dawn, the Welsh Church gave to the Welsh people more than 180 Welsh Books, most of which were on religious subjects.

Then, what was the cause of Welsh Nonconformity?

To all that I have said a friendly critic may reply, "Well, you have proved what every well-instructed person knows, that the Church of Wales is not a complete separate Church, that it is not an alien Church, that the statements made about that Church by political adventurers are easy of but perhaps not worthy of refutation, and you have proved that at no distant date Welshmen were all loyal and devoted to that Church, which had been theirs before the mission of Augustine, a Church which first gave them their Christianity, which gave them their Bible in Welsh, and (let not this important point be forgotten) that the Church which gave to Wales the Welsh Bible alone saved from extinction the Welsh language, which is now the life and mainstay of Welsh patriotism." All these points every fair and candid mind must accept as proved, but there still remains the great question how came it to pass that Nonconformity during the early years of this century gained such a hold upon the Welsh people.

There was more than one cause for this.

First of all the Commonwealth left the Church in Wales more disorganized and impoverished than it did the Church

in England. Very few I think have realised the extent and severity of the damage and disaster brought upon the Church in Wales by the Commonwealth.

The Disorganization after the Commonwealth.

Again, before the Church in Wales had had time to recover herself there gathered upon the wreckage left by Cromwell, an English and often non-resident Episcopate. Energetic oversight was possibly not the characteristic of the Episcopate in any part of the Anglican Church during the last century, but it is difficult to imagine that this work of supervision could have been so completely disregarded as in many instances in Wales. Imagine a Welsh Bishop residing in some remote part of the North of England and only once visiting his Diocese, and, remembering what the means of communication and travelling were last century, picture the many inconveniences and disadvantages to the work of the Church in his Diocese, which residence at such a distance from his work must have involved. This non-residence was utterly and hopelessly bad; but that was not all. Last century the proportion of people in Wales who could speak or understand English was very much less than it is now. I doubt at the present time whether the number of people in Wales who cannot speak or understand English would amount to one-fifth of the whole population. Last century, I venture to think—but it is, of course, only a shrewd guess—that the number of purely Welsh-speaking people was much nearer four-fifths. Therefore a knowledge of the Welsh language in those who had to minister to the Welsh people was four times as important then as it is now. An English Episcopate which often did not reside among the Welsh people, and when it did reside could not speak to them, can always make good its claims to be reckoned amongst one of the chief causes of Nonconformity. Further, during last century and the early years of this century it cannot be truthfully said that the disposition of Episcopal patronage in Wales was free from gross abuses.

An English and often Non-resident Episcopate.

Next should be reckoned the extreme poverty of the Church in Wales, which brought with it the baneful necessity of holding livings in plurality. Imagine one Clergyman serving five parishes, some of them ten miles apart, and receiving from none of them more than £7 a year. When we remember all these things the marvel is that the Church in Wales surmounted her difficulties as well as she has done. In speaking, however, of the history of the Church's troubles and depression let me state this one fact. The records of the Diocese of St. Asaph alone prove that among the Englishmen who filled that See were some men of noble and earnest lives, who shewed zeal and energy in their work—while among the parochial clergy themselves I can multiply instances of devoted ministry. No doubt there were then cases of neglect and indifference among the Welsh clergy, but men like the late Mr. Justice Watkin Williams and the present member for the Swansea Boroughs, the two men who in the House of Commons have proposed the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, have seized upon a few cases of gross immorality among the Welsh Clergy, and from these argued most unfairly, as I think, that drunkenness, dishonesty, immorality and neglect of duty were prevalent. Mr. Dillwyn, not content with this libel on the Welsh Clergy in the last century, includes in it the Welsh laity. I differ from Mr Dillwyn; I think he would find it a very difficult thing indeed to prove that the Welsh laity were as immoral and corrupt in the 18th century as he represents them to have been. I say advisedly to prove.

The extreme Poverty of the Church.

From what I have stated about the difficulties of the Church in Wales, and of the presence of earnest and devoted men among her ministers, you will see at once that the conditions were favourable to a religious revival. These devoted clergy were themselves the parents of this revival. The formal secession of the Methodists arose, as the facts prove, from no sort of hostility to the Church, but from these simple causes. A

Clergymen themselves the Parents of the Revival.

number of active, devout Churchmen, lay and clerical, upon whom the evangelical revival spirit had fallen, formed themselves into Societies of itinerant exhorters and lay-preachers. Their preaching brought about a great religious revival in Wales. Owing to the increased congregations and the wide area of the parishes, many of these being held in plurality, there was some difficulty in obtaining, when required, the ministrations of episcopally ordained clergymen. To meet this difficulty the leaders of these Methodist Societies determined in 1811 to set apart eight of the lay preachers in North Wales and eight in South Wales to administer the Sacraments.

It is on record that this step was taken by the leaders with the greatest reluctance, a reluctance which in the case of the chief leader, was before his death an openly expressed remorse. Among the founders of Welsh Methodism there was not one syllable of hostility to or disagreement from the doctrine and worship of the Church of England. In their first printed rules the Welsh Methodists repudiate most strongly the idea that they are dissenters from the Established Church, and even as late as the year 1834, at an annual association of the Welsh Methodists, held at Bala in June (10th, 11th, and 12th), the following recommendation was (at the meeting at two p.m. on the 11th) proposed by Mr. John Elias, of Anglesea, seconded by Mr. William Morris, of Pembrokeshire, and unanimously agreed to by upwards of 500 preachers and elders then present from various parts of the Principality: "That we deeply lament the nature of that agitation now so prevalent in this kingdom, and which avowedly has for its object the severing of the National Church from the State, and other changes in ecclesiastical affairs. We, therefore, are of opinion that it pertains not unto us to interfere in such matters; and we strenuously enjoin upon every member of our connection to meddle not with them that are given to change, but on the contrary to pray for the king and for all that are in authority that

Yet always Loyal to the Church.

we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."

It is not my business to specify the various steps in the declension of the tone and spirit of Welsh Nonconformity. This declension is a fact well-known. I prefer to record the words of a Welsh Nonconformist, a Liberal, and a writer in a Radical newspaper. I quote his testimony from the *Homilist*, an English Nonconformist magazine of January, 1888. "The characteristic feature of Welsh Nonconformity is the general air of lethargy and sloth that pervades everything. The mournful cry issues from the chapels in the land 'Who hath believed our reports, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?' . . . . . the dread "Ichabod" appears to have been written over our doors, and the tale to be told 'The glory has departed.' The cause must be sought for in the decay of the preachers. In fact the *real* preacher seems quickly becoming a relic of the past. . . . . Enter into conversation with your minister and try and find out his hobby. Politics first, politics second, politics to the end of the chapter."

Political Character of Modern Nonconformity.

At a recent gathering of the Methodists in the county of Cardigan, the following appears in a report read by one of their Ministers:—"The Chapels have generally relaxed into a state of lethargy and carelessness, we are sadly wanting in devotion and zeal towards the cause, and in brotherly love towards one another. It would be difficult for the world to know to-day that we are disciples of Jesus Christ, judging by the measure of the love we bear one another." This statement is corroborated by the statistical report of the Methodist body in North Cardiganshire for 1888, read by the Rev. Thomas Levi. I ask special attention for these figures, because I am enabled to compare these official Methodist statistics for 1888 with the official Methodist statistics of the same district for 1878. In 1888 the Methodist Chapels in this district numbered 48, in 1878, 46. In 1888 the Ministers numbered 27, in 1878, 25, and the number of

Its Spiritual Declension.

communicants in 1888 numbered 5576, in 1878 they numbered 6070; the number of children (in the Chapels) in 1888 was 2871, in 1878 it was 4434; the total number of the congregations in this district in 1888 is given as 11,228, in 1878 as 13,544.

Before I point out the significance of these figures, let me remind you that the Calvinistic Methodists are in every sense the most powerful Nonconformist body in Wales, and that Cardiganshire is their stronghold in South Wales. Now you will see that the official Methodist statistics which I have quoted prove that during the last ten years the Methodist chapels in North Cardiganshire have increased by *two* and the Methodist ministers by *two*. Now observe these significant facts. While the ministers and chapels have thus far increased, the number of communicants has decreased in ten years by 494, the number of children has decreased by 1563 (that is, by more than one-third), and the congregations have decreased by 2316.

Its Numerical Losses.

But looking in another direction the evidence is the same. In a Welsh newspaper called the *Goleuad*, which is the recognized organ of the Methodists, and which admirably represents the decadence of Welsh Nonconformity, the following appears in a leading article upon Welsh preaching:—"Where it (our preaching) fails is in its influence upon the life; there is not the harmony there ought to be between profession and practice. Is it possible that Wales must again struggle slowly through a period of indifference until she has lost the mighty influences that rule her? We fail to create a sense of confidence in our young people; they come and go according to their own tendencies, with only the slightest degree of the feeling of any responsibility." This confession of the *Goleuad* is confirmed by the recent words of an eminent Methodist minister, who says, "What irreverence is there even to impiety at our sacred ordinances! No pretence, much less feeling of devotion in our worship; the throne of grace

Its General Deterioration.

is approached in prayer, only a few bending the head, much less bowing the knee." All this points to a deterioration much more serious than any decline in numbers. I quote these facts in no party spirit, and for no party purpose, but simply as proofs of a state of things familiar to anyone who knows well the inner life of Wales.

Is there Proselytising and Persecution? If so by whom?

Let me now pass on to deal with some of the misstatements made with regard to Wales by advocates of Disestablishment. Last May Mr. Dillwyn stated in the House of Commons that the Church in Wales was a proselytising Church, that it was a fact that the influence of the landlords and of most of the employers was exerted to induce people to declare themselves Churchmen. I claim to know Wales well, and I say advisedly that that statement is untrue. But I go further and say that if truth is to be made known, it will be found that such pressure and persecution—for it is nothing less—as Mr. Dillwyn speaks of, is often and very freely practised among the Nonconformists. Within my own experience I know a number of cases of Nonconformist employers of labour, who have not only compelled their servants to go to their Chapel but have kept back from their wages contributions to the chapel fund. The following case is also known to me. A Nonconformist started some works, and after a time decided to build a chapel belonging to his own denomination, for which a contribution was levied upon the workmen. Among the workmen were Nonconformists belonging to other bodies, and Churchmen, who all had to contribute, many of them as much as £5.

Mr. Dillwyn's Extraordinary Figures.

With regard to attendance at religious worship, Mr. Dillwyn tells us that 86,438 is the average attendance at Church in North Wales on Sundays, and 317,078 at Chapels; that is, that a total of 403,516 out of a population of 480,848, on an average attend a place of worship in North Wales on Sunday. Allowing 25 per cent. for those who from age, illness, or other causes are unable to attend public worship, we shall

appreciate the full value of Mr. Dillwyn's statistics which tell us that the average, *not* the extraordinary attendance at places of worship in N. Wales, actually exceeds the possible number who could attend by 42,882. In order to compose an argument against the Church in Wales Mr. Dillwyn has conjured up an army of 42,000 statistical spectres!

Some genuine Church Statistics.

In Brymbo parish, where Mr. Osborne Morgan resides, I was last July at the opening of a new church with accommodation for about 500. Last month I visited the parish again. The Vicar and the Churchwardens find the church so crowded that they are already preparing to enlarge it. At the confirmation on October 3rd in the parish church of Brymbo I confirmed 170 candidates, 11 of whom were over 50 years of age, 14 were over 30 years of age, 25 over 20 years of age. The Church itself—seats and aisles—was densely crowded, and a large number of people were outside in the Churchyard unable to gain admittance. All this took place within sight of the house of a Right Honourable Gentleman who is perpetually telling the English people that the churches in Wales are empty. The previous week at a confirmation at Rhosllanerchrugog, a mining parish not far from Brymbo, when I arrived at the church twenty minutes before the service began, so dense was the crowd that I had the greatest difficulty in getting into the church. The confirmees numbered 100. In the diocese of St. Asaph, since the end of May I have confirmed over 3600 candidates.

Mr. Osborne Morgan's Blunders.

Most untrustworthy with regard to the Church, Mr. Osborne Morgan is no more to be trusted when he treats of Dissent. He stated in the House of Commons that "the Calvinistic Methodists alone gave £173,000 a year to their cause. They had 4,500 places of worship, and a corresponding number of ministers and preachers." Now the total number of the ministers of the Calvinistic Methodists, Baptists, Independents and Wesleyans was in 1887 under 1600, the total number of the Calvinistic Methodist ministers

being 619. Mr. Osborne Morgan's language is ambiguous; if he was speaking of all the Nonconformists in Wales, his imagination simply trebled the truth, if, as the context seems to shew, he was speaking of the Methodists only, then his imagination has multiplied the truth seven times.

The comparative number of the clergy and the Nonconformist ministers is an important point. Last session another Welsh member of Parliament described the Welsh clergy as a comparatively small body of clergymen who minister to the wants of a minority of the people. The actual numbers in 1887 were as follows:—The clergy in Wales numbered 1427, and the Nonconformist ministers 1557. And here I would call attention to another very important consideration. The Calvinistic Methodist ministers are the most numerous and the best educated of the Nonconformist ministers in Wales, but even among them one third are engaged in some secular calling in addition to their ministry, a fact which is equally true of the ministers of the other denominations, so that a considerable reduction has to be made even upon the 1557.

Nonconformist Ministers and Church Clergy.

Once more, while we are frequently reminded of the merits of the voluntary system, we are never told of the enormous chapel debts in Wales. The debt upon the Methodist chapels in Wales alone exceeded in 1887 £320,000; and while their adherents have been steadily decreasing, the chapel debts have been advancing by leaps and bounds. Sir Hussey Vivian, in his speech upon the Disestablishment motion last session, combated this fact, and gave as a proof of his contention a chapel built in recent years which had cost £13,000, the debt on which had been reduced to £1500. This chapel was completed about 1874, and the debt remaining upon it at the time Sir Hussey Vivian spoke was close upon £7000. If the whole truth were known, I believe the debts upon the Baptist and Independent chapels do not fall far short of those on the Methodist chapels. £320,000 multiplied three times gives a very large and awkward total.

The Truth about Chapel Debts.

The full significance of this enormous burden of debt remains yet to be fully understood.

Another statement made in the House of Commons last session was the following by Mr. Thomas Ellis, M.P. :— "What remains of the Established Church in Wales is the rent-receivers, large landowners and capitalists of Wales." This reckless and ridiculous statement I purpose meeting with some facts about the Church. The Bishop of St. David's, in his recent charge, gave the following statistics :—The number of Sunday school scholars in the Diocese of St. David's has advanced from 28,763 in 1880 to 32,923 in 1889. The number confirmed for the triennial period ending December 1st, 1876, numbered 4352, and for that ending in 1888, 8545; in other words, the number confirmed has doubled during the past twelve years. The number of communicants has risen from 26,589 to 39,401 in the same period, an increase of 50 per cent. This is for the Diocese of St. David's alone. You will notice that the percentage of communicants in St. David's in proportion to the population exceeds that of any Diocese in England.

An Answer to Mr. Thomas Ellis.

I will supplement these facts about the Diocese of St. David's with the confirmation statistics of my own Diocese. During the last six years the number confirmed in the Diocese of St. Asaph average 2000 each year. Compared with the population, this shows a larger percentage of confirmed than in many English Dioceses.

Confirmation Statistics in St. Asaph Diocese.

The Burials Act, passed in 1880, suggests some very significant reflections. For years previously Mr. Osborne Morgan had filled the land with the sound of the terrible grievance which the Nonconformists of Wales suffered in having their dead buried with the services of the Church. I believe he stated that the grievance affected 600,000 in Wales. Now, if only half what he said was true, it is quite obvious that the Nonconformists would eagerly have seized the relief given by this

Burial Statistics.

Burials Act. Well, what are the facts? Since the passing of that Act, in 266 parishes in North Wales, 1440 funerals have been celebrated under the provisions of that Act by Nonconformist ministers, while 20,298 funerals have been celebrated according to the rites of the Established Church. I know in my own experience a number of cases where every possible pressure has been put by Nonconformist Ministers upon members of their flocks to adopt the provision of this Act in the burial of their dead; and such pressure has been stubbornly resisted.

The Denbigh Churchyard and Mr. Gee.

I leave this branch of the subject with a striking illustration from my own diocese. Recently the churchyard attached to the Parish Church of Denbigh had to be closed or enlarged; the adjoining field, from which alone enlargement was possible, was leased by Mr. Thomas Gee, a Methodist preacher, editor of the *Baner*, and leader of the Tithe agitation. Mr. Gee refused to give up the required ground unless, for the future, Nonconformist ministers were permitted to officiate *within* the Church at funerals. This permission could not be granted, and the enlargement of the churchyard was therefore abandoned. Meanwhile the Denbigh Town Council, of which Mr. Gee is a member, formed themselves into a Burial Board, bought a piece of ground, and opened a Cemetery. The cemetery was hardly completed when the working men of Denbigh, Churchmen and Nonconformists alike, took the matter up entirely of their own accord. They approached the landlord, who promised to *give* the necessary ground, provided Mr. Gee gave up his lease; but Mr. Gee was master of the situation and stubborn. "You've got a cemetery now," he said in so many words—'what do you want with a churchyard?" but the working men would have nothing to do with the cemetery, and the storm of indignation rose so high that poor Mr. Gee collapsed beneath its onset and he gave up his lease. The additional ground was secured, and consecrated by me this summer. On the day of consecration the rain came pouring down,

but notwithstanding this the people came literally in thousands; the Church and churchyard were simply packed with people, and I have never seen a more reverent or impressive congregation.

I should like before I sit down to say something on the Tithe Question.

Sir William Harcourt in his recent speech at Carnarvon, stated that "Tithe, being national property, ought to be applied to the uses of the nation," and recommended its being given to secure free education for the people. This is a very tempting bribe; but let us see how it works out. In my own diocese the Voluntary Schools are twice as numerous as the Board Schools. Assuming the Disendowment of the Church in Wales, there can be no doubt that the Church would be compelled to give up her Voluntary Schools. At the lowest computation this would more than double the present School Board Rate for Wales. This year's Blue Book gives the present School Board Rate for Wales as £140,381. If the School Boards were called upon to supply all the Elementary Education for Wales, that rate would, I believe, amount to, at least, £300,000. This is putting it very low, because if the Voluntary Schools are closed the old School Buildings would not be transferred, and the expenditure to supply new ones would be enormous. But to this estimate, if there is to be Free Education, as Sir William Harcourt promises, £80,000 a year must be added for school pence. The bribe, therefore, works out something like this. The parochial tithe in Wales amounts to £137,000 a year. Set this against the £380,000 and it leaves £243,000 a year to be drawn from the pockets of the Welsh Rate-payers, that is to say that the acceptance of Sir William Harcourt's proposal would mulct the Welsh Farmers in an increased School Board taxation of £100,000 a year.

Tithe and Free Education—How does it work out?

"Legal Alienation of National Property!"

Some one may ask what about the tithes to Lay-Impropriators. I asked Sir William Harcourt whether he included these under tithe. This is his reply:—

MALWOOD, LYNDHURST,
October 31*st*, 1889.

MY LORD,

In reply to your letter of the 30th, I have to say that I should suppose when National property has been legally alienated to private uses it would acquire the character of personal rather than of public estate.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient Servant,

W. V. HARCOURT.

The spectacle of Sir William Harcourt in one breath demanding the nationalisation of tithe, and in the next breath inventing the fiction of a "legal alienation of national property" is a political somersault marvellous even in these days.

One word more as to the future. We are bidden by our opponents, "Look at the representation of Wales; the great majority of your members are against the Church."

This is a Time of Transition.

True, I reply. But they owe their seats to other causes besides their opposition to the Church. Supposing that Yorkshire or Cornwall returns members pledged to Disestablishment, is the Church forthwith to be disestablished in Yorkshire and Cornwall? Again, the Church, even by the confession of her enemies, is making steady and great strides in Wales; and granting that the ballot box is against us, would it be fair, just, or even politic to give effect to a political change which in a few years the majority of the Welsh people themselves would deplore and regret. Sir William Harcourt, and his appropriate companion, Mr. Cyril Flower, M.P., both recently speaking in Wales, sneered at the starvation of the poor Welsh Clergy, and tell

us we never hear of starving Nonconformist ministers. The answer is plain and complete. The Nonconformist ministry in Wales is chiefly a preaching ministry; in the rural districts, especially, pastoral work is not attempted by the Nonconformist ministers. In a large number of villages they have no resident ministers at all. As a rule the Nonconformist minister in the rural district is engaged in some business or other. And this fact is in itself a proof that their ministry must lack the two essentials of wholeheartedness and independence.

Furthermore, Nonconformity in Wales ministers in Welsh, and has utterly failed to start English causes. The Nonconformist official Year Books state that "they can only maintain their hold upon the country through the English language, that a large proportion of the rising generation are being transformed into English-speaking people, and that like the flow of the tide, the English language is advancing in the Principality." The Methodists have for years striven hard to start English Chapels. According to their own statement their English communicants number 4 per 1000 of the population. A remarkable letter from the Rev. Emlyn Jones appeared last week. He confessed that his denomination, the Independents, were failing entirely to provide English services, that of the £700 a year given towards the English causes in Wales £400 was collected in England, and that their opportunity had well-nigh passed. As a comment on all this, let it be clearly understood that the Church in Wales is now doing her duty by and making rapid progress among the Welsh-speaking people, that English is quickly becoming the language of the people, and that the English-speaking people in Wales are insufficiently ministered to by Nonconformity.

Progress of the Church, and difficulties of Nonconformists.

To sum up, I would not lift a finger to maintain the Established Church in Wales if I was not profoundly

Highest Welsh Interests bound up in the Church.

convinced that the highest interests of the Welsh people are bound up in the welfare of the Church in Wales. To cripple the Church would be to cripple the social, intellectual, moral and religious progress of the Welsh people. The Church in Wales pleads guilty to many shortcomings in the past, but that man is no true patriot who would weaken the powerful religious influence which she exerts to-day. Her difficulties have been many, and not a few confront her still; but her life and expansion are undeniable. They are borne witness to by Nonconformists no less than by Churchmen. I appeal with confidence to religious minded Welshmen to maintain in her integrity this mighty power for good.

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TENTH THOUSAND.

THE CHURCH IN WALES.

A SPEECH

BY

SIR EDWARD CLARKE, M.P.

(THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL)

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1892.

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SPEECH

OF

SIR EDWARD CLARKE, M.P.

(THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL).

MR. SAMUEL SMITH having moved, and MR. DILLWYN having seconded, the following Resolution :—

"That, as the Church of England in Wales has failed to fulfil its professed object as a means of promoting the religious interest of the Welsh people, and ministers only to a small minority of the population, its continuance as an Established Church in the Principality is an anomaly and an injustice which ought no longer to exist."

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (SIR E. CLARKE) said:

Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and on the part of those who sit upon this side of the House, a most definite and uncompromising opposition to the Resolution which has been moved and the policy which prompts that Resolution. Sir, I draw a distinction, and I think it is a natural one, between the Resolution and the policy which it is supposed to represent; for I am sure it will have been observed by those who have listened to the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution that they have paid no attention to the terms of the Resolution at all; that they have made no attempt to establish any one of the propositions which it contains, and that they have contented themselves by referring to other matters—matters which I own might form matter for consideration in debate, but are not relevant to the propositions put before the House. I am not surprised at the course they have taken. I was, in truth, somewhat amused to find that, having long delayed in choosing the terms of the Resolution, the hon. Member for Flintshire on Friday last put upon the Paper of the House this old Resolution, which has been proposed and debated several times, and which I thought had been

absolutely destroyed last year by the right hon. gentleman the Member for Midlothian. I saw in the paper to-day an inspired communication to a newspaper in which the hon. Member for Montgomeryshire writes that—

"Mr. Gladstone desired to support the Motion for Welsh Disestablishment this Session as he had done last Session."

Sir, I wish he were here to-day to do it. I can conceive nothing more satisfactory than that a Resolution aimed at the Church in Wales should be supported as the Resolution of last year was supported by the right hon. gentleman the Member for Midlothian. We have taken care to circulate largely the speech of the right hon. gentleman on that occasion, and it will long be remembered as a lasting demonstration of the futility—I was going to use a stronger word—of the propositions in the Resolution before the House. Does any one who heard him forget the paternal way in which the right hon. gentleman the Member for Midlothian corrected the innocent indifference of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Pritchard Morgan) to all the history of the Welsh Church? Does any one forget the way in which he, taking the terms of this Resolution, declared that he could not agree with them, and stated with regard to the first phrase which strikes one's attention, that "the Church of England in Wales" was an entire misrepresentation, and that it would be as reasonable to speak of "the Church of Wales in England" as of "the Church of England in Wales?" Last year the speech of the right hon. gentleman was a very interesting speech. He came down to the House in order to appear to make a recantation of his statement of twenty-one years ago, that it was impossible to dissever the Welsh Church from the Church of England, and the principal sentence in which that apparent recantation was expressed deserves to be always remembered as the choicest possible example of the verbal dexterity of the right hon. gentleman the Member for Midlothian. I think no such gem was ever contributed to the records of this House as the sentence in which he dealt with his own assertion that it is impossible to dissever the case of the Welsh

Church and the Church of England. I beg the House to mark the sentence. He said—

"It is quite possible that I may have used that expression which may, when strictly regarded, be found to involve the element of exaggeration."

The most the right hon. gentleman could do when he came down to recant the declaration of twenty-one years ago, was, not to say that it was an exaggeration, but to say that he "might have used an expression" which "might, when strictly regarded, be found" not to carry with it, but "to involve," not exaggeration, but "the element of exaggeration." And, Sir, when the right hon. gentleman had done his part in that apparent recantation, the House will remember how the right hon. gentleman turned with obvious satisfaction to that which was more congenial by far, to speak out his mind, and to declare that—

"The Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and I hope very distinctly a living Church rising from elevation to elevation."

It is not we who are slow to recall that speech of last year of the right hon. gentleman. That speech contained another remarkable sentence, another remarkable piece of information, as clearly conveyed as words can convey—at all events, as clearly as the words of the right hon. gentleman could convey. He admitted that there might be an element of exaggeration in his former speech; but it is very significant to note the terms in which he refers to the character of the task which would have to be undertaken by anyone who proposed to disestablish the Church of Wales. He said—

"I say now what I believed then, and what I believe now, that the operation of disestablishing the Church of Wales from the Church of England will not be found very easy. I suspect that it will be found that it is tied and knotted and tangled, I might almost say, in such a multitude of legal bonds and meshes with the general body of the Church of England, that it would be a very formidable matter indeed to accomplish this purpose."

Anyone who heard the right hon. gentleman was conscious of three things; first, that he was anxious to remove the effect which,

during twenty-one years, his earlier speech had been exercising upon the minds of the people of this country, by the defence which he then made for the Church of Wales; secondly, that he bore emphatic testimony to the good which the Church was doing in Wales; and, thirdly, that he gave notice that whatever might be done by those who should come after him, it would not be for him to do the work of Disestablishment. He did support, in a fashion, that Resolution. He did, I believe, pair in favour of that Resolution; but he rested his case with regard to it not upon any attack on the character or work of the Church in Wales, not upon the smallness of the minority of the people forming the membership of the Church, but on the ground that the majority of the people of Wales, he believed, desired Disestablishment. Therefore, not upon the ground of Church policy, or high policy, but upon the ground of separatism, he accepted that majority for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales. He was yielding to that passing craze of separatism, which has attacked the minority in this House, and which would set up again barriers and fences between the families of our people that have been trodden down and almost erased by the friendly footsteps of many generations. His speech did not greatly help the assailants of the Welsh Church. But what have they themselves to say in regard to the Resolution? I watched the hon. Members the Mover and Seconder closely and they have taken warning by what the right hon. gentleman said last year. They did not this year talk about the Church of England in Wales; nor, indeed, did they make any attempt whatever to prove either of the two propositions contained in the Resolution. The first proposition is—

"That the Church of England in Wales has failed to fulfil its professed object as a means of promoting the religious interests of the Welsh people."

I will examine the proposition presently: but if I had only to deal with the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of this Resolution, they would require no answer upon that point at all, for they have not attempted to prove that statement by any

particle of evidence that can reasonably be submitted to the judgment of the House. Let us take the second proposition, without passing altogether away from the first, to which I will return. Take the second proposition, that "the Church ministers only to a small minority of the population." If that assertion is true, it ought to be, in some way or the other, capable of proof, and the hon. Members who ask the House of Commons to accept a very serious proposition like this, and who lay it down as one of the premises upon which the House is to move to this decision, ought to give us, at all events, some sort of argument or evidence in its favour. But what have these gentlemen done? Their attempt at proof is trivial and grotesque. The hon. Member for Flintshire, who moved the Resolution, spoke, as he had very good reason for speaking, very doubtfully with regard to statistics. He says that statistics have been freely handled in this House. I am glad to know that they always will be freely handled. I shall say something later on about the statistics prepared by those who have been professionally engaged to support the case which the hon. gentleman puts before the House, and I shall venture to handle them somewhat freely. The hon. Member has his doubts about statistics; but instead of getting as near as he could to the facts with regard to the Church in Wales, instead of giving any sort of excuse—good, bad, or indifferent—for having put the proposition down upon the Paper, he gives us statistics as to the attendance at Welsh churches in Liverpool and Welsh churches in America. What nonsense this is the speaker himself must upon reflection see. He could see in a moment that Welshmen who live in Liverpool are for the most part familiar with the English language, and that when he chose churches in Liverpool at which only Welsh is used, he was choosing churches which would not in the least represent the attendances in the churches in Wales. As to these indefinite statistics from America, they seem to be the information of some anonymous person as to that country; they cannot have any relation whatever to the condition of affairs in Wales. And yet the hon. Member, after giving us these fragmentary and irrelevant anecdotes, proceeds to say that he has now overwhelmingly

proved his proposition that the people of Wales are Nonconformists. Let me pass on to another matter with which the hon. Member dealt. He says that in past times the Church of Wales was a corrupt and incompetent Church. He could hardly use expressions of reproach in describing the condition of Church work either in Wales or in England during, say, the reigns of the Georges, with which I should not be inclined, most sorrowfully, to agree. It was not in Wales alone, but in England also, that there was in those days a decadence of the Church work and a degradation in the character of the ministers of the Church which is now a subject of sorrowful reflection. Yet there were always good and holy and religious-minded men in the Church of Wales as well as in the Church of England, who, to the best of their ability, discharged their duty both to God and man in the ministry of the Church; but there were, doubtless, many others of a different character; men who lived —in England as well as in Wales—weak and degraded lives. I am glad to say, however, that in Wales, as well as in England, the Established Church has escaped from the discredit which has been brought upon it by this latter class. Our extrication from these difficulties was probably earlier than in Wales. We in England were a less scattered people; public opinion was more effective and more active, and perhaps it would be right to say, that owing to circumstances a higher standard of character had been maintained, so we escaped earlier than in Wales. But, thank God, the troubles and degradation to which I refer have now almost gone! We have got rid in England, and I believe in Wales, of the drinking parson, the sporting parson, the gambling parson, of the pluralist and the absentee; we have nearly got rid of the magistrate parson, and, for my own part, I am very anxious that we should get rid of the political parson. These reforms have already been secured to a great extent in both countries, and those who are most active and vigorous in carrying on Church work in England and in Wales, are men who devote themselves to discharging their high duties to the State and to the Church in the most self-denying exercise of their great calling. But when this is the case both in England

and in Wales, to what purpose is it that we are to be reminded of those scandals of a century and a half ago, or even of things which may, in scattered instances, be found a little later? The hon. Member who moved this Resolution gave us, as his most recent instance of misconduct in Wales, an instance of a Bishop, who, in 1830, was enjoying an enormous income, and appointing his sons and his nephews to sinecure livings. Sixty-one years is a substantial time in the history of a religious body, and during those sixty-one years the progress of the Church, both in England and Wales, has been a course of continuous and undisturbed improvement; and now no one, I am sure, can allege or point to any scandal with regard to England or to Wales comparable to that which the hon. gentleman has spoken of as having existed sixty-one years ago. Let me suggest to the hon. Member that he was not logical in bringing this sort of evidence before the House in support of his Resolution. If the hon. Member could have said that one hundred and fifty years ago the Church in Wales was an active and a vigorous Church, preaching the pure faith, ministering diligently and faithfully to the people, discharging its duties with zeal and with earnestness, whereas now it had lost that pure faith, and the energetic and true life, had become corrupt, and disordely, and inefficient, then he would have given us some ground for his bringing forward his Motion to disestablish the Church in that part of the United Kingdom. But when he points to the fact that the Church in Wales one hundred and fifty years ago was feeble and unfit for its Divine work, and that now it has risen to such a pitch of efficiency and of purity that no one will challenge it, and no one will bring an accusation against it, is he not giving us the very best reason in the world for not destroying a Church whose energy has thus been revived and purified, and for allowing the country in which it exists to profit by its teaching and its work? I venture to say that in the line he has taken and the suggestions he has made as to those scandals of a long-gone past being sufficient to induce us to disestablish the Church of Wales, he is directly contradicting the hopes and teachings of those great men whose memory he calls upon us to reverence.

Never was a more fitting memorial placed in Westminster Abbey, or one more thoroughly deserved, than the medallions of the brothers Wesley which are upon its walls. Does not the hon. Member see that in asking us to disestablish the Church in Wales he is acting in direct contradiction to their hopes and principles, and to the Society which they have founded.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH: No.

Sir EDWARD CLARKE: I will prove it. The hon. Member has said that the great men he has mentioned—Wesley, Rowland, and Whitfield—had been turned out of the Church. He is mistaken. Wesley and Rowland remained faithful members of the Church, and they lived and died declared members of the Church. I believe there was a time in the early part of his life when Wesley was not admitted to the pulpits of this country; but he was admitted to those pulpits before he died. John Wesley was re-admitted to those pulpits; and his last words, practically the words of testament by Wesley to those who were to follow him in the body which he had founded, constituted a declaration that he lived and died in the Church of England, and he left his dying injunctions to the members of that body that they should never depart from the doctrines and principles of that Church. I must mention another matter. We are sometimes told that the Church ought to be disestablished in order that she may be freed from control. We had a scene in this House, upon the 29th of July of last year, which was very painful to Churchmen who were trying to pass a Bill to enable the Church to expel from its benefices clergymen who had been guilty of gross immorality or other grave offences. That Bill was opposed, and the Churchmen were told in so many words that we should not be allowed to purify the Church; and that if we wanted a measure to give power to the Church to purify itself, we must consent to Disestablishment. I remember on that occasion three hon. Members on the opposite side of the House—the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), the hon. Member for the Eccles Division of Lancashire (Mr. Roby), and the hon. Member for the Exchange Division of Liverpool (Mr. Neville)—all protesting

against this opposition, and the hon. Member for the Exchange Division of Liverpool said that to postpone dealing with grave scandals until they could deal with the question of Establishment would be a crying injustice. But it is a mistake to say that a disestablished Church would be a free Church, free from control. At the present moment the great Nonconformist bodies of this country are limited not only as to their discipline, but as to their doctrine, by bonds which Parliament alone can break. The papers yesterday had a quotation from the *Methodist Recorder* with regard to a proposed change in the regulations of the body which follows John Wesley; and the section of the deed poll which the Wesleyan Methodists are now coming to Parliament to ask to be relieved from by Act of Parliament is a very remarkable one. They cannot now allow a minister to remain more than three years upon a circuit, and the Wesleyan Methodists are now coming to Parliament asking to be relieved from that regulation which prevents them appointing any person for more than three years successively to the use and enjoyment of any of their chapels, and I think the hon. Member, when he speaks of a free Church, will find in the last line of this section a very interesting refutation. It was enacted by the eleventh section of Mr. Wesley's deed poll, of the 28th of February, 1784, that—

"The Conference shall not, nor may, nominate or appoint any person to the use and enjoyment of, or to preach and expound God's Holy Word in any of the chapels and premises so given or conveyed, or which may be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, who was not either a member of the Conference or admitted into connection with the same, or upon trial as aforesaid, nor appoint any person for more than three years successively to the use and enjoyment of any chapel and premises already given, or to be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, except ordained ministers of the Church of England."

At this moment the only persons the Wesleyan Methodist Conference can by law continue more than three years in one place are the ordained ministers of the Church of England. But, Sir, I go further even than this. In the year 1818, there was

constituted by Conference a Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society, and in the year 1871 an Act was passed, the 34th and 35th Vict. chapter 40, which gave legislative sanction to the Constitution arrived at in 1818. It was enacted by Section 4 that—

"Nothing in this Act contained shall authorise any alteration in the doctrine of the Society as set forth in Part II. of the General Principles of the Methodist Constitution."

Another section allowed them to vary parts of the Constitution which referred only to discipline. The Schedule of that Act contains different parts of that Methodist Constitution, from which I will read an extract—

"Does not the Methodist Society profess to belong to the Church of England? Yes, as a body; for they originally emanated from the Church of England; and the Rev. John Wesley, the venerable founder of the Connexion, made a declaration of a similar import within less than a year preceding his decease, 'I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.'"—(See *Arminian Magazine* for April, 1790.) "This, however, is not to be understood as interfering with the right of private judgment in places where education or prejudices attach members to other Established Churches."

That, Sir, is in the Designs, Part 1, which they are at liberty to alter; but in Part 2, which that body cannot alter except by coming to Parliament, we find this, "What is the foundation of the Methodist doctrine? The Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Wherein consists the unity of the Methodist doctrine?" The hon. Member who moved this Resolution said that the doctrine was drawn pure and direct from Holy Writ. I will read to him the doctrine which is obligatory by Act of Parliament upon this body; it cannot be altered without the consent of Parliament. The Primitive Methodist Society of Ireland——

AN HON. MEMBER: Is it a public Act or a private Act?

SIR. E. CLARKE: A public Act. The hon. Member will

find it on the table from which I have taken it, and the answer given to the question of what the unity of the Methodist doctrines consisted was as follows:—

"Answer.—In teaching and enforcing those doctrines only which are contained in the Scriptures, as taught and explained in the writings of the Rev. John Wesley and Rev. John Fletcher, particularly Mr. Wesley's notes on the Old and New Testament, his eight volumes of sermons, his appeals, and the doctrinal parts of the *Arminian Magazine* as maintained by him and published to the period of his decease, also Mr. Fletcher's Checks and letters, published by Mr. Wesley."

And when the hon. Member speaks of the freedom of a Church which is not established as the Church of England, has he forgotten for the moment that if any body, such as a Church, comes to be possessed of property or endowment of any sort or kind there is a condition of things established which prevents it from altering its doctrines or the terms of its membership except by appeal to the House of Commons? With regard to the matter of the number of people in Wales, the hon. Member for Swansea made an observation as to his wish for a census. Well, we have always wished for a census. We are anxious to have a census. It is not the fault of Churchmen that there has not been a census made in Wales as there is in Ireland, to ascertain the religious opinions of the people. Hon. Members on the other side may well be justified in the opposition that they make to that proposal. I do not complain; they form their own judgment in the matter, and they object to our proposal being carried out; but, at all events, if they object to any record being taken by an independent and authoritative body, it is not for them to ask that we shall accept the amateur and somewhat suspicious attempts that they make to get these returns. With regard to this question, which I consider an important one, the hon. Member who moved the Resolution gave the go-by altogether to that part of the case, and says fairly, "I do not choose to deal with Welsh statistics." I do not think that is quite satisfactory; I think we ought to be able to find out in some way what is the proportion between Churchmen and Nonconformists in Wales.

The Nonconformists say they desire to obtain returns of the attendances at our churches. Well, they have made several attempts to do this. In the year 1887 it was announced that a religious census was about to be taken by a very active and vigorous Nonconformist in Wales. He was believed to have taken it. He did not publish it. About two years later he published fragments of it, and explained that in the cases in which he had taken returns he had a private census taken for the re-consideration of the figures. I do not say the figures given were not true. One cannot say that; there was no comparative statement on the other side by which to test them, but I do say they cannot call upon us to pay any very great respect to an amateur experiment of this kind, founded upon a principle unfair to the churches and unfairly applied. I say "a principle unfair to the churches." When the right hon. gentleman the member for Midlothian had occasion in this House to discuss some years ago—I think forty years ago—the Motion of Mr. Miall with regard to the disestablishment of the Church of England, he protested against the idea that you could test the efficiency of an established Church by counting the number of persons present at a single service upon a particular Sunday. If you took the number of persons present at public worship you would not establish a fair comparison between the Established Church and other bodies which think much more of the preaching of the Word and of attending at particular times in their churches and chapels. It would not be a fair comparison. But I will take for examination a very recent example—the most recent return, I think—taken by one of those who have been professionally engaged in support of the Liberationist movement in Wales. There has been a Welsh Campaign Fund started, and some of these needy Nonconformists of Wales have given sums of £500 each to establish that fund. I will not inquire too curiously how it has been spent, but I believe it has been partly spent in obtaining the returns published in the *Times* newspaper in December of last year. Mr. Owen Owens published in the *Times* of the 18th December, 1891, a return which he had obtained from an inquiry set on foot by him

into the attendance at churches in the diocese of St. Asaph; and he said that the return he gave showed that "the proportion of attendants at church on a Sunday did not reach 10 per cent. of the population." It was a curious conclusion, and I should like to tell the House how it was arrived at. There were 73 parishes taken in the diocese of St. Asaph. He got out a total of 113,000 persons in the population and of 11,009 persons in attendance in the churches; and he said that taking these figures they represented a proportion of something less than 10 per cent. I do not think that 10 per cent. is an insignificant number when you take the attendance at one service only at a church in a rural, and in many parts a somewhat wild, district upon an extremely inclement day in the month of November. But let me take it. This census can be examined, and has been examined, and the figures which I am going to refer to have been published and have never been answered. At Wrexham the amateur, who was present on that day, omitted five places of church worship altogether, and he estimated the population of Wrexham at not less than 2,000 persons below its real number. In one place the two enumerators were aged respectively eleven and thirteen years, and, as might have been expected from such juvenile officials, there was a difference of 45 per cent. between them. But in nine places—9 churches out of 73—the numbers given as the congregation at service were smaller than the number of communicants who had communicated at these churches on Easter Sunday. I need not draw the inference from that fact. But there was one place of all these 73 which was correct, and only one. It was the parish of Hawarden, and the parish of Hawarden, a large parish with over 6,000 inhabitants, has, I am very glad to say, a diligent Church ministry and a large attendance at the services. The parish of Hawarden came out in these returns in a way which corresponds with the returns made by the Rector of Hawarden to the Bishop of the diocese. The explanation is an interesting one. The Rector of Hawarden is the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, who knew this inquiry was to be made, and offered to give the persons who were conducting the inquiry the figures himself. They accepted

the figures, and thus the parish of Hawarden had the singular distinction of being the only correct return, so far as we can see, in the whole of the 73. Now, Sir, this is an example of the statistics which have been given by our opponents. With regard to them, I do not impute bad faith. The controversy we are engaged in to-day may last for many years, and for my own part I will take care, from the beginning to the end of this controversy, that no word shall be spoken by me which will embitter the antagonism among those who, to my thinking, ought to be working for and in one common cause. I have given an example now of the statistics with regard to ourselves. Let me give something which I confess I am inclined to consider more trustworthy. There are reasons, as I have shown you, to distrust these statistics about us. I think we are entitled to accept the statistics of our antagonists in this matter about themselves. With regard to them, I think they ought not to complain if we examine their own statistics and apply them to the consideration of the question, and I want to ask the attention of the House to some interesting figures. The four large bodies of Nonconformists in Wales are—the Calvinistic Methodists, who I believe outnumber by about one-half any other Nonconformist body, the Independents, the Wesleyans, and the Baptists, and they comprise the large majority, almost the whole, of the Nonconformist population in Wales. Now these four bodies issue every year an account of their Church membership. Two of them issue the account in this form. The Calvinistic Methodists and the Independents give a table of the number of members of their Church, and they also give the number of the adherents of the Churches. It is an important matter to remember what an adherent means, and I shall read the definition of adherent, which is an authoritative definition of the Nonconformist body—

"Adherent includes all who attend regularly or irregularly at Nonconformist places of worship; all who avail themselves of the religious services of ministers or members of the Nonconformist body on the occasion of sickness or death in their family; and children of all ages."

In other words, all who can be directly or indirectly described as

Nonconformists. The adherents of the Calvinistic Methodists and Independents including the members are just over twice as many as the members alone. Applying this ratio to the other two bodies, who give only the number of members but not of adherents, and doubling their figures, or rather more than doubling their figures, in order to produce a fair result; the result of this is: The total adherents in Wales, including Monmouthshire, of the four largest Nonconformist bodies is, according to the last return—that of 1890—814,277, from their own books. That is 46 per cent. of the population of the country. I think the hon. member for Swansea some years ago gave an estimate in this House of the number of persons who were Nonconformists, including under that total the Roman Catholics, who were not included in these four bodies, and he estimated them at 55,000. I believe 56,000 is about right. That would add another 3 per cent. to the Nonconformist body; and so, according to their own statistics, including adherents, including every child and everybody casually brought into contact with them, the largest number they can claim of members and of adherents attached to their body, comes to 49 per cent. only of the population.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): Supposing the rest conform?

SIR E. CLARKE: I shall finish my statement, but I assure the hon. Member I shall not omit to notice the question. But there is another very interesting fact with regard to this. Nonconformity is not evenly distributed over Wales. The eastern part of Wales—the seven counties which may fairly be called the eastern part of Wales—are places of large population and of increasing population. The six counties in the West of Wales are places more sparsely occupied, of decreasing population. In the seven eastern counties, which contain 72 per cent. of the population, the adherents of the Nonconformist bodies, including Roman Catholics, who are more numerous in that than in any other part of Wales, amount to only 35 per cent. of the population. So that, according to their own statistics, in that part of Wales which is increasing in population, and full of prosperity and promise for the future, it is not much more than one-third

of the population that, by any method of calculation, can be brought within the Nonconformist body. It was said, "Do the others conform?" I do not understand the question. There is no such thing as conformity to an Established Church in the sense which it necessarily has when dealing with a Nonconformist body. The claim of the Church is that all belong to her body, and are entitled to her ministrations; that the doors of her churches are open to all, the ministration of her Sacraments given to all, that the consolations of religion will be given by her clergy to all people amongst whom they live. The strength and the power of the Established Church is that she directs her unceasing effort to that large body which may not have come into direct relation with any religious community at all, but which is open to the influence of Christianity and the influence of the teaching of a worthy Church; and, again, I say no one will deny—I am sure the Hon. Member for Denbigh (Mr. Osborne Morgan) himself, who is going to speak in this debate, will not deny—the value of the ministrations of the ministers of the Welsh Church, although they may be given to those who have not absolutely declared themselves to be members of a religious body. It was not in a hasty or debating speech that the hon. Member expressed, not long ago, the very highest opinion of the work of the Welsh clergy. In an article, I think in 1885, in the *Nineteenth Century*, he paid his testimony to the character of the clergy in Wales, and a better or more hearty eulogium could not be expected from the most devoted defender of Church Establishment. As the question has been asked, I should just like to point out this. It has been said how about those who lie outside of the membership of the Nonconformist body. But when one is talking about the membership of the Nonconformist body, and the number of Nonconformist chapels, and the number of Nonconformist ministers in Wales, one is necessarily exaggerating to a great degree the influence that Nonconformity has in Wales. I will give an instance. In the Diocese of St. Asaph there are 208 churches of the Established Church. These 208 churches are served by 312 clergymen, and in each parish there

is a resident clergyman, who has in some cases assistant curates, attending to the people among whom he lives. What is the case with the Nonconformist Body ? The Calvinistic Methodists are a very strong body in the Diocese of St. Asaph. They have 330 chapels in that Diocese. But they have only 70 pastors. Of these 70 pastors 35 have more than one chapel to attend to ; and there are 43 other persons who make up the ministry of the Calvinistic Methodists in that Diocese to the number of 113. Altogether, there are 43 persons besides these pastors—men, no doubt, of exemplary life and great capacity to lead others to a religious life—but persons obliged to occupy their daily time in other and secular employment.

Mr. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Like St. Paul.

Sir E. CLARKE: I heard the interruption. If St. Paul had not had to work for his living he would have had more time to work for his Master. And I say, while these men may be men of good qualities to guide and lead and encourage others in religion, at all events they cannot, by the nature of things, give such constant pastoral care to the people amongst whom they live, as could be given by those whose whole lives are spent in the discharge of those duties. There exist, then, 330 chapels in the Diocese of St. Asaph; there are 70 pastors. Of these 70 pastors 35 have more than one chapel to attend to. I do not care to dwell upon this subject. I do not care—for my part, I absolutely refuse—to make any attack upon the organisation or work of the Nonconformist bodies; but I propose to read to the House an extract, not from a writer upon our side, but from a writer who was speaking from the Nonconformist side with regard to this matter. On the 14th May, 1891, there appeared a leading article in the *Goleuad*, which is the official organ of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales. This is an extract from the leading article:—

"As is seen in the figures used by Mr. Roberts, our chapels (eglwysi) throughout North and South Wales number 1,258 ; of these, 724 are in North Wales, including three in Liverpool and Manchester. According to our diary there are only 236 pastors to take care of all these churches. . . . Let us take an example. We know a district within a presbytery in North Wales where there are

19 churches, and there is only one pastor in the whole district. In cases of illness amongst our members, and when special circumstances call for the presence of a minister, to marry, to baptise, to promote beneficent movements, such as temperance, &c., to hold classes for the young people, to defend the rights of Nonconformists against civil and religious violence and oppression, the Calvinistic Methodists have only one pastor for this tract of country. In the same district there are at least ten clergymen, the great majority of them evincing great zeal for the "Mother Church," and untiring in their efforts to win Nonconformists to their fold. Read the reports of the Sunday Schools in this district, and you find a very great decline in the work of the schools."

I think we are entitled to point out to hon. Members who are seeking to disturb and destroy the work of that Church which maintains in every parish throughout the Diocese a clergyman diligent in the performance of his duty, and ministering to the people in whose midst he is placed; that those on their own side, who are most deeply and ardently interested in the work of Calvinistic Methodism, lament the fact, that by the paucity of their pastors as compared with the numbers of their churches, their people are practically left without guardianship, and practically without guidance in spiritual matters.

Sir, the time may come when the timid inveracities of this Resolution shall give place to a formal scheme proposed to Parliament by a Minister of the Crown for the humiliation and the despoiling of the Church. If that day should come how will the opposing ranks be filled, and in what principles will the defenders of the Church find their inspiration. We are sometimes told that we are defending invested interests and a Government Department. Sir, to some of us it is no question of the defence of a political institution. The Church is of Divine foundation, its system is Divinely ordered, its faith Divinely guarded from corruption or decay. In the Establishment we find the privilege and obligation of a universal duty; in the endowments which the piety of her sons has, in past ages, consecrated to the Divine service we see the guarantee for the independence of her ministers, and for that unfailing service of charity, by which far more than this her heritage is given directly

to the poor, in the relief of ignorance and sorrow, of sickness and of want. In our belief the inheritance of the Church is the most precious possession of the poor. This is not your belief, but it is that which I share with millions of my fellow-countrymen. Many of those are to be found in the ranks of the Liberal party; many who, in presence of such considerations as these, will refuse to join in a policy of destruction. But these will not be all. There will, I believe, be with us many who do not share in this belief, do not approve the system of the Church, and do not profess her creed, but who accept as their rule of political conduct something better than the party expediency of the moment. What, Sir, is the characteristic of the higher statesmanship of the day. It is that the principle that the welfare of the people is the supreme law is becoming more and more the rule of our legislation, and of all the activities of our public life. And this other truth we ought to have learned, that the welfare of the people does not mainly depend upon forms of Government, or the arrangement of political privileges, or even on the distribution of the national wealth. It depends on the character of the people. Who will deny that the teaching of the National Church is one of the most potent of all the influences which form and elevate the national character? Fixed in a pure and manly faith; secured by the very conditions of its establishment from the spasmodic extravagances of religious fervour, and the more permanent danger of priestly domination; it is the strongest of all existing forces to strengthen and refine the spirit of our people, and to teach them that in the fulfilment of Christian duty lies the only hope of protecting our social life from the extremes of a cynical selfishness on the one hand, and on the other from the vagaries of a fantastic and predatory socialism. Sir, we of the Tory party gladly and gratefully accept the honourable duty of standing foremost in this cause. But we believe that as the years go by there will come to our side more and more of those who place the national welfare above the ties of a political combination, and will claim to share with us the patriotic work of guarding the inseparable interests of the Church and the People.

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THE CHURCH'S CONNEXION WITH THE STATE.

Addresses

DELIVERED AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS, BIRMINGHAM, OCTOBER, 1893.

BY

THE REV. CANON JACOB;

ALDERMAN HENRY PHILLIPS:

AND THE VERY REV. THE

DEAN OF NORWICH.

Reprinted from the Official Report of the Church Congress.

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9, BRIDGE STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

THE CHURCH'S CONNEXION WITH THE STATE.

Address by the Rev. Edgar JACOB, Vicar of Portsea; Hon. Canon of Winchester; and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen.

MY LORD, MY BROTHERS,—When I was instituted fifteen or sixteen years ago to the parish of which I have the great privilege and honour to be vicar, my bishop, one whom I loved as a father, Bishop Harold Browne, said to me, "Remember that nettles do not sting if they are strongly handled." My Lord, I have tried to remember that motto; but I acknowledge that when I received a letter from the secretaries of this Congress asking me to tackle the question of Church and State before a Birmingham audience, I thought that they had asked me to handle a nettle which almost attained to the dimensions of a young shrub. However, my brothers, I was very much re-assured by something which fell from the President in his opening address to this Congress. He said that the Working Men's Committee of Birmingham had themselves unanimously chosen this subject, and desired to hear it treated by certain members of this Congress. That fact, my brothers, is to me a sure and sufficient guarantee that you will patiently listen to what we may have to say, whether you may agree with it or no. It is a sufficient guarantee to me that I shall have to speak to an audience sympathetic at least in interest, when I tackle this rather dangerous subject, and proceed without further preface to handle my nettle. The line which I mean to take to-night is very largely determined by the fact that I am called upon to speak first. I will be candid. I hate speaking first. I always like to have a lead to follow or a nine-pin to knock down. But as I am the unlucky man on this occasion to put up the nine-pin for Canon Fremantle and others to knock down if they afterwards wish, I shall be very careful, I can tell you, what sort of a nine-pin it is. Let me say that I really believe that I shall do most good if I try to clear the ground for the other speakers who follow me, by giving certain definitions, and removing misapprehensions. Let me just give you an illustration of what I mean. There are so many misunderstandings because people do not understand terms. I remember when I was a very young clergyman indeed, hearing a most animated discussion carried on by certain most estimable old ladies as to whether they had met a gentleman in a particular place. I listened to the discussion for some time, and then I ventured, young as I was, to intervene, and I said, "Will you allow me to divide this subject for you. First, did you meet the gentleman at all?" "Oh, yes," said they. They were quite sure. They all acknowledged that they had met him. "Secondly," I said, "would you mind trying to fix the place at which you met him?" That was done in two minutes. "Then," I said, "the whole question is whether the place at which you agree you met this gentleman bears the name which it is said to bear. Shall we refer that to an arbitrator?" I said. "Shall we take the senior lady present who has taken no part in the discussion, and shall we ask her to settle whether it bears the name or not?" They said "By all means;" and all this animated discussion at once ceased, because, you see, they had been arguing at cross purposes, and they did not quite understand the meaning of terms.

Now, it seems to me that that is an illustration of the misunderstanding which I very often find in reference to such a question as Church and State, and, therefore, I am going to begin at the beginning. What is the Church? What is the State? I cannot talk about connexion between Church and State unless I have some understanding as to what the Church means, and what the State means. Now, first of all, what does the Church mean? I am not speaking now simply of the Church of England. I am speaking of the whole Church of Christ, and I will tell you what the Church of Christ means. The Church of Christ is a society both human and divine. It is God's plan by which the world is to be brought into obedience and love to Him. There are indications of it in the Old Testament times. Ever since the days of Abraham I find that God willed by means of a society to prepare the world for the greater society, the Catholic Church of Christ. When the fulness of time was come, and God sent forth His Son, born into this world and born of a woman, then that Son, Jesus Christ, did not change the method previously existing, but, rather, instead of a Church narrow and national and exclusive, He made a society which should be world-wide—for that is the meaning of catholic —not national, but universal; not exclusive, but comprehensive of mankind. And now

this Church or Society, my friends, has two sides, human and divine. It is divine, because it is ordained by a divine Master. It is human, because it consists of men and women. And, further, this Society of men and women has certain marks by which you can tell it. First of all, there is the headship of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. He is the head of the body, the Church. The Church is not meant to be a substitute for Christ, but it is to lead to Christ. The Church is the body of Christ, and our Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, Son of God and Son of man, must ever be the acknowledged head of His Church. The second mark of the Church which I shall mention is this: it is specially the creation of God the Holy Ghost, and it is permeated by God the Holy Ghost. The birthday of this society of which we are speaking to-night was the Day of Pentecost, and the Holy Spirit must ever be its permeating, sanctifying influence. The third mark of the Church of Christ is this: it is to be the custodian or the guardian of the faith once delivered to the saints, and the supreme criterion of that faith is to be found in the revealed Word of God. The Church of Christ must ever be the guardian of the written Word. The fourth mark which I shall mention is this: that God is pleased to use ordinances—that is outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace—by which men are to be brought into this society, and to be helped and fed when admitted to its ranks. There is one sacrament which has been sometimes called the sacrament of diffusion—that is the sacrament of Baptism—because by it the body is perpetually being enlarged. And there is the other sacrament which is called the sacrament of unity, because by it all these various scattered members are brought into one complete and compact whole. And, remember, the Church of Christ has to be the jealous guardian of these sacraments, not adding to them, not taking away from them, preserving these two great sacraments as the ordinances whereby the Church of Christ will ever be known to men. The fifth mark of the Church of Christ, which I shall not set out controversially, is this: That there is a divinely ordained ministry. This ministry is necessary for the carrying out of all those other objects of which I have already spoken. If Christ is to be the head of the Church, it is to be by the living voice of living men that that headship is to be proclaimed. If God the Holy Ghost is to be the permeating, sanctifying influence of this society, it is to be by living men, instinct with the Holy Ghost, that this truth is to be proclaimed, and that men are instrumentally to be hallowed. If the Word of God is the living Word of God, and the Church is the guardian of it, then these men are to preach the living Word, and their faithfulness is to be measured by the way in which that Word is by them proclaimed and expounded. If the sacraments of the Gospel are real, true ordinances, the outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace, then they must be administered by men who are qualified and who are justified in administering them. And so in all these ways you see there is not anyone, I may say, of common sense but will acknowledge that practically, even were it not so ordained of God on high, there is a necessity for an ordained ministry to carry out the work of the Church of Christ. (Cheers.)

What, then, is the State? The State is a civil community. We do not apply the word "State" to a barbarian horde as a rule. We apply it to a civil community with law, and government, and order. When we speak of the State, we imply the executive power; we imply a legislative power; and we imply a judicial power. Those seem to me the three chief powers which are inherent in the very conception of a State. Now, if I am true in my definition of the Church and of the State, then I will ask you, how is it possible that the State could make the Church? That is what I put to you, because I am coming on now to certain fallacies which I want to crush and set aside. There are four fallacies which I want to deal with, and pardon me if I speak of things which are truisms to many of you. It is necessary that they should be said, because you will find that in exposing these fallacies, we shall be stating certain truths which are opposite to them.

Now, the first fallacy is this. I have got it from a well-known book. "The Church of England is what it is as the result of the action of the legislature which founded it, and shaped it throughout." Well, did the legislature found it? ("No.") That is the point which I want to put. Let me just give you the very briefest historical *résumé*. The early British Church certainly dates from the third century, if not before. I will pass that by, except to say what the Saxon invader did when he came in the next century. The Saxon invader drove the Christians away into the recesses of Cornwall and Wales, which thus became the earliest parts of the existing Church of England. It was necessary to refound that Church. How was it refounded? It was refounded, mainly, from two different streams. There was one stream which came to the North chiefly identified with the name of Aidan, who came

about the year 635. Aidan came from Iona, and those who come from Iona come from Ireland, so that Ireland was the means of Christianizing Scotland. And thus from Scotland Aidan came to Northumbria, and all the land north of the Humber was mainly converted by means of this man and his friends. Then there came another mission, a mission rather earlier than Aidan's in time, although not really earlier than Aidan's father in God, because Columba, who was a great man, and who went to Iona, died in the very year in which Augustine came to Canterbury. The Roman mission, which was headed by Augustine, came in 597 to Canterbury, and was the main means of the conversion of Kent. I have no time in the short address which I have to give to you to go into any details; but let me say that England was mainly converted from these two converging streams. If I were to go into details, I should tell you of Essex and Sussex and East Anglia and the like. There is no time. I could do it with pleasure. But here, from these converging streams, Christianity came into the country. You remember there was a heptarchy —seven kingdoms—in those days. And the missionary was the head of the mission. He was usually a bishop, and he was the means of the conversion of the king, and he became a sort of royal chaplain. Then gradually the nobles came in, and the other people generally came in, and so at last there came to be a nucleus of a Christian body. But, observe, it did not begin as it begins usually now-a-days. It began with the king, and it went down. Now-a-days, in India and other parts, we find that the common people listen most readily, and then we are gradually working upwards. But in those days it was different, and it began up and worked down. Now observe how the Church grew. There was a bishop of these various parts. Each of these little kingdoms had its own bishop, and it was a missionary bishop, you observe. Then gradually the clergy extended. There were more Christians. They wanted to have some clergy fixed here and fixed there. What did that lead to? Why, it led to the parochial system. First of all came the diocese, but the diocese led to the parish. A man wanted to have a clergyman in his own parish, or in his own district, and so he offered an endowment to the bishop. First of all, he offered an endowment to the bishop only for himself, but then, afterwards, as it became necessary to have parishes, there came parochial endowments, and those parochial endowments were, every one of them, the gift of private individuals. If the king gave, he gave not, as it were, from the State, but he gave of his own bounty; and whether it was the king, or whether it was some great noble, or some great landowner who gave, he gave land, or he gave a certain part of the produce of his lands; and that is how the endowments have come into being. Now, my friends, I want to ask your attention a little farther. I submit that England was Christianized by these two main converging streams. Now I want to take you to the end of the seventh century, and, you come then to a very remarkable man named Theodore, who was Archbishop of Canterbury. Theodore was the great organizer of England. We owe to him the organizing in the dioceses. He came in 668, and there was a great synod held at Hertford in 673. There were sixteen dioceses, I believe, represented on it, but those dioceses had not very good boundaries in those days. We owe the boundaries and the assignment of definite districts to this great man Theodore. Now, what was the result? England was a little country, or, rather, I should say, a series of little countries in those days, but when the English people saw that the Church could unite, and could be one body under one man, who was not, indeed, a tyrant or a despot, but simply the chief amongst equals, and when they found that there could be thus a unity, they said, "Why should there not be a unity of the State as well? Why should not we unite as well?" And what did they do? Why, about one hundred and fifty years after Theodore convened this synod, England became one State under Egbert, and it was the unity of the Church that led to the unity of the State. And then, further, when they saw that the heads of the Church could meet in conference and synod, and could arrange their affairs, they said, "Why should not we have a conference in like manner." And so the Parliament of England came into existence in 1265, and for three hundred and fifty years they borrowed from the Church of England the building in which their Parliament was held. (Loud cheers.) Now I am going to put it to you, did the Church establish the State, or did the State establish the Church? (Cheers.) Well, then, if you will agree with me that it is much more easy to say that the Church established the State than that the State established the Church, wait one moment. What do you mean by "establish?" Do you mean founded? What does the word "establish" mean? Lord Selborne has a note about it, and he quotes Johnson's dictionary. "To establish means, to settle in any privilege or position, to confirm." And establishment means a confirmation of something already done; that is, a ratification. Well, then, if the State

established the Church, what do we mean? Do we mean that the State made the Church? Do we mean that the State founded the Church? God forbid. The State never made and never could and never can. What did the State do, then? What "establishment" means is this—and I again quote Lord Selborne—"The establishment of the Church by law consists in the incorporation of the law of the Church into that of the realm as a branch of the general law, though limited to the causes to which, and the persons to whom, it applies; in the public recognition of its courts and judges as having proper legal jurisdiction, and in the enforcement of the sentences of those courts, when duly pronounced according to law, by the civil power." I hope that you will allow me to say, that I think I have disposed of the first fallacy, that the State founded the Church. Then I come to the second fallacy. "Oh, but," say some people, "the State at the Reformation abolished the Church of Rome, and founded the Church of England. There was a Roman Catholic Church before, and now," they say, "the Church is a Protestant Church," and they say that it is a transference of property; and if it is a transference of property, why, the result is unquestionably that the Church has been founded and established by the State. What do you mean by the Reformation? I am going to tie you down to definitions to-day. I do not mean to allow a single thing to pass, if I can help it, without its being defined. Very well, what do you mean by the Reformation? "Oh," some people will say, "we mean what took place in the reign of Henry the Eighth." Stop a moment. What do you mean? What did take place in the reign of Henry the Eighth, pray? And, further, I am going to ask had not Edward the Sixth something to do with it? Was there not something which had to do with it in Queen Elizabeth's time? "Well, I suppose there was." Very well, then, I suppose that the Reformation took something like a hundred years, all told. What do you mean by it? What is the particular act which you call the Reformation? Do you mean the dissolution of the monasteries? Is that what you mean—because if you mean that, what I want to say is this. You heard me try to define the Church just now. Did you hear me say a word about the monasteries? Are the monasteries essential to the idea of a Church? Well, they sometimes talk about me as a sort of monk at Portsmouth, because I have got ten curates living with me, and we are a very happy crew, and I am an old bachelor, too. You are welcome to anything that you think looks monastic about me. (Laughter.) However, the monasteries were dissolved, and I am not aware that the dissolution of monasteries affected in any shape or form really the essence of the Church.

Now, I go on farther. Do you mean to say that when the supremacy of the Pope was rejected, that means a transference from one Church to another! Wait a moment. Did the Church of England always accept the supremacy of the Pope before? ("No.") Quite right. You know all about it, I see. (Laughter.) I always like to speak to people who know all about it. (Laughter.) There have been three main periods of the English Church, speaking very roughly, of course—first from its foundation to the Norman Conquest; secondly, from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation; thirdly, from the Reformation to the present time. The first was the period of the foundation, the second is what you may call, if you will, the Roman period; and the third is the post-Reformation period. Now as to the first period I am going to tell you one particular fact, and you may judge from that. When Theodore was sent as Archbishop of Canterbury to England he was selected for the purpose by the Pope of Rome, and he was accepted. But when he divided England into dioceses, there was one man named Wilfrid, who was the Archbishop of York, and who protested against the division of his diocese. He appealed to Rome, and they had a consultation at Rome, and they said that Theodore must give him back his diocese as it was. Did he? Not he. Theodore was too good an Englishman. (Laughter and cheers.) He was not an Englishman by birth, but he was a thoroughly good John Bull when he once came here, I can tell you. He was a very independent man, and he did not give it back; and although Wilfrid afterwards got another Pope to have another council, and to request that it might be done, the King of England would have none of it; and done it never was. Now I am going to ask, then, was the papal supremacy acknowledged? ("No.") Was it acknowledged at all in the first period? I tell you that, in spite of gradual encroachment, it was never admitted by the Church. But I want to go farther still. The second period, I quite admit, was more or less a Roman period. It was the time when the Roman See obtained a tremendous power gradually over this country of ours, and that power reached its climax in the reign of King John. But that was the reign when the Magna Charta was conceded, and the words of the Magna Charta were that the Church of England is to be free. (Cheers.) And further, it was not only then. I could

give you statute after statute, but I cannot weary you to-night. I will only just quote particularly the Statute of Provisors, as it is called, in the 25th Edward the Third, 1351, and the Statute of Præmunire in Richard the Second's reign in 1393, and those will be sufficient to show that the supremacy of the Pope of Rome was never really conceded, even in that second and Roman period. When, therefore, the Reformation came, and when, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, not merely by the act of the king, but by the act of the bishops, the clergymen, and all the commons of England, the papal supremacy was rejected, it was only in continuance of all the traditions and all the history of the already ancient Church of England. (Cheers).

Was it the abolition of the celibacy of clergy which made the Church to be practically new? No one will dispute the catholicity of the Anglican Church up to A.D. 1100, and in that year the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to say that, as he found the better part of the English clergy were sons of clergymen, he supposed the rule of celibacy, only made in 1074, must be relaxed in England; so that at the Reformation the Church did but revert to the undisputed rule of five hundred years from Augustine's landing. Did the alterations in the Prayer-book make a new Church, founded by the State? Why the Articles were agreed to by the bishops and clergy in that peculiarly English assembly—Convocation—in 1562. The Pope expressed his willingness to sanction all the changes in the Prayer-book (and but few have been made since) if only Elizabeth would acknowledge his supremacy. The Prayer-book of 1662, as I have before stated, was entirely the work of Convocation, and simply accepted by the State. No wonder, then, that when the Act of Uniformity was passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, out of 9,400 clergy, only 189 refused to comply. Do you think this would have been possible if they had been asked to give up their old Church, and become the ministers of a new Act-of-Parliament Church, such as this foolish fallacy assumes? No! The conclusion is summed up by one of the greatest historians of this century, Professor Freeman, in these words: "It is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing English Church. The whole argument must assume, because the facts of history compel us to assume, the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation with the Church of England before the Reformation."

Fallacy number three is that the clergy are State-paid. Very well, now, I am going to make an admission. I have been State-paid for about three years. I happen to be Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, and I get thirty pounds a year, I fairly acknowledge, as chaplain. (Laughter.) But, besides that, for more than a year I have been the chaplain of a prison, and really, amongst all my various occupations, I value very much the privilege of ministering to the prisoners. (Cheers.) What I want to say is this: that although I happen to be the chaplain of a civil prison at Portsmouth, the work, of course, being done a great deal by those young "monks," as you may call them, who are living with me, yet you will not find any country where there is a Church, established or disestablished, where they do not pay their chaplains to the prisons and the asylums. That is done in America, and everywhere else, too. So that is not to the point. The question is: Do I get any money from the State as Vicar of Portsea, or in any other capacity? No, I do not. The endowments, as I told you, come from individuals. The whole of the endowment of the parochial clergy of the Church of England in 1891 was said to be just under four millions throughout the whole country, reckoning tithe at par. You may take it as something like between £600,000 and £700,000 less now, because of the diminution in tithe. But this is a property which has come down to us from our ancestors, of which a certain sum has been given in modern times. An annual sum of about £272,000 a year has been derived from endowments which have been given to the Church since 1703. I need not refer to those enormous sums which have been given, thank God, and are being given, by loyal and liberal Churchmen all over the country for churches, and for curates, and the like. I am only speaking of endowments—the capital sums which have been given for endowments. Remember, then, that there was an endowment for dioceses and an endowment for parishes. But some people will say—and I think that this is a point worthy of notice—"Well, I am perfectly certain that a great deal of the endowment of the Church of England was given for monasteries, and given in Roman Catholic times for Roman Catholic purposes." Now I want to say this: the endowments of the Church of England are mainly pre-Norman and post-Reformation. There are very few endowments of the Church of England which were given between the Norman Conquest and the Reformation, and I will tell you why. Those endowments were almost always given to monasteries. When the monasteries were

dissolved, Henry the Eighth took that money and gave it away to his favourites, or to himself, or to other people. He took just a little of it in endowing five new bishoprics, and I will make you a present, if you will, of the endowments of those five. I may tell you I was appointed to my benefice by the governing body of Winchester College. How did the College get the advowson of Portsea? How did it get the tithe of Portsea? I will tell you. That belonged to the Abbey of Southwick, and Henry the Eighth coveted some of the land that belonged to the College; so when he dissolved the monasteries, he said to Winchester College: "You shall give me up your land, and I will give you something in return"; and he took from them their land, and he gave them what was thought to be an equivalent. But most people think—if I may use a vulgar expression—that he made the College "pay through the nose." Very well, then, the endowments of the Church of England were mainly, as I told you, pre-Norman and post-Reformation; and the income of the parochial clergy in the year 1891 was something under four millions a year. You must reduce the amount now. Now I am going to put a simple question to you. It seems most difficult to kill this lie. I have heard people say again and again, "There's them parsons: I don't see why we should go on paying for them." Nor do I. (Laughter.) If anybody will show me anything in the Budget by which these said parsons are paid, except chaplains to prisons and asylums, and the like, I will give him a good bit of money. They will not find it. That is the simple answer. Tell them to find it in the Budget. May I say that fallacy number three is killed? I hope I may.

Now I have got one more, if you will bear with me. ("Go on.") It is this. There are some very good, very dear friends of mine, Nonconformists. I love them with all my heart. I am the best of friends with Nonconformists. (Cheers.) I greatly love my parish. I live in the headquarters of Portsmouth artisans. Many of them are Nonconformists. They will not give me a bad character if you ask them, I think, and I am very good friends with them, and friends with their ministers, too. But some of them say, "Well, you know, the State is usurping the rightful authority of the Church. The State appoints the clergy, or the bishops, at any rate. The State judges, the State legislates, the State does all this. It is not right; it is not right in principle that the State should do this." Wait a moment. Does the State do all this? That is the question I want to know. I am not going to let anything pass unchallenged if I can help it. I quite admit that the State nominates the bishop as the State appoints a judge. But whom does the State nominate? There are certain people who have been ordained deacons and priests of the Church of England by bishops. These bishops are perfectly uncontrolled. They can reject, or they can accept. These men have been accepted as ministers of the Church of England. The Prime Minister, as representing the Crown, and on behalf of the people of England, chooses from those clergy who are duly qualified, under the very deepest sense of responsibility. And let me say, with thankfulness—and I believe that everyone will agree with me—that certainly in recent years we can honestly say, whatever party we belong to, that there is no Prime Minister who wishes to make the Church prostrate, or who wishes to injure the Church. I believe that they have tried, under a deep sense of responsibility, to recommend to the Queen fit and due appointments in the Church of Christ. Very well, then, is it such a very Erastian thing for the State to nominate a bishop? And when a man has been nominated a bishop, does he act as a bishop directly? Not a bit of it. He has to be consecrated by the Archbishop and certain bishops associated with him. He has to answer certain questions. There are opportunities of objecting to the appointment if he is an unfit man. And when he is consecrated, then, and not till then, and then by the action of the Church's ministers, he becomes a bishop of the Church of God. But then you say, "But the legislation of the State has made this and made that." Well, now, I want to put it to the test. Here is a Prayer-book. The Prayer-book, almost in its present form, dates from the year 1662. Who made it? Who prepared it? Convocation. That is to say, the representatives of the clergy and the bishops assembled. It was not the State who did it. It was the representatives of the Church who brought the present Prayer-book and presented it to the State, and then said, "This is our Prayer-book: will you give to it the sanction of law?" That is what the State did, and you will find that the doctrine of the Queen's supremacy as it is defined by the Thirty-seventh Article, and as it was expressly held by Queen Elizabeth, does not mean that the King or the Queen assumes to be able to arbitrate, or assumes to settle what is the faith of the Church of Christ, but simply that the Queen is the head of all things "in all causes ecclesiastical and civil within these realms," and that it is her duty to see that all her subjects, ecclesiastical and

civil, have justice done to them. (Cheers.) That is the meaning of the supremacy. My dear friends, let me tell you—I do not mind disclosing the fact—that this connexion between the Church and the State is a very delicate thing. It is perfectly possible for the Church to make demands which the State could say it could not bear. It is equally possible for the State to make demands which the Church may say it cannot bear. If by the action of the State a succession of very unworthy men were to be pressed upon the Church, it would come to be a question whether the union which we have so greatly valued would be worth maintaining at such a price. But the time has not come. Time enough for us to settle this question when the difficulties arise. It is unstatesmanlike, and it is unwise in the very highest degree, to anticipate difficulties which have not yet arisen. (Cheers.) But I say to you, what is needed is this—for the Church and State, each within its own sphere, to work together, and to work together for the glory and honour of Almighty God. The work of the State is itself a divine work if it is rightly done. The work of the Church is a human work, because it also has its human side. In the very highest conception the union between the two is indissoluble. I would to God that this idea of supreme conscientiousness might go through the whole State of England, and not through the whole Church of England only; and I say to you now, that it depends upon us, it depends upon our energies, it depends upon our forbearance, it depends upon our righteousness, it depends upon our zeal, what shall be the future of this great historical Church to which it is our high and lofty privilege to belong. You may, if you will, make a breach with the past; you may, if you will, say that this connexion shall no longer go on. But even if you do that you cannot kill and destroy what you never founded. The State never founded the Church, and the State can never kill it. If ever the dissolution of that holy union comes, then I am certain that I speak on behalf of this platform, and I speak on behalf of this meeting, when I pray God that there may be no other revenge than that the Church of England, with diminished resources, shall still seek to do her Master's work. But, my friends, it may be otherwise. It may be that you will feel that this great Church of ours has been so great a blessing to this country that you dare not dissolve the union which has been so great a factor in the history of the English nation. It may be that you will see that this national recognition of religion in the form which it has taken in England—a form, let me say, free from many of the objections which may be raised to the forms which it has taken on the continent of Europe—has been the greatest blessing to the English people and to the English State. The Church of England has infirmities, and I am not going to conceal them. I take it that if you had spoken to the apostles, S. Peter would have deplored his own denial of his Master and the treachery of his colleague; but I say that the infirmities of men are no real objection so long as the heart of the Church is sound to the core. And it may be that you will say that a Church which, with all its infirmities, has been at so many a crisis, like that of the Magna Charta, the bulwark of the nation's liberties, and which further, with all its infirmities, has been again and again the hallowing influence of the nation's life, may be still, amid all the clashing of classes and the strife of tongues, the harbinger of the nation's peace. And you will say that a Church which has had this great history shall not be ruthlessly disestablished and disendowed, but that you will rather strive, by your devotion, by your zeal, by your energy, and by re-adjusting the machinery of the Church from time to time to the needs of successive generations, to make this divine, yet human, society, to be in time to come of our history, even more than in the time past, alike the mother and the home of the English people.

Address by Alderman PHILLIPS, West Ham.

MY LORD, MY BROTHER MEN,—I want to speak to you for the little while that I shall take from a thoroughly different standpoint. I want to take those three points which have been raised, and re-cast them. The question, Why should the working classes support the National Church?—I want to put that to you from the standpoint of one whom the working-men of East London have honoured by putting him up as one of their leaders. I shall speak to you from that standpoint, just as I would have put the matter before you if I had been asked to come to a trades union meeting to point out why I hold that men should stand loyal to the principles of trades unionism. Why, then, should a working-man support the principle of a National Church? And, moreover, I hold that not only he should do it, but that he should do it more to-day than ever it has been done in the past. The need for working-men up and down England to stand solid by the principle of a National Church is greater to-day than

ever it has been, because every day that goes by, and every year that rolls round, the State is taking over more and more to itself, and taking out of the hands of individuals more and more the management and the control of affairs. Think for a moment of what we do already. The moment that a little baby is born—the moment that one of you fellows has another "kid" in the house—the State comes down and says, "I am going to look after that." It will not let you have the sole management. It says, "I am going to see that the baby is registered; I am going to see that the baby is vaccinated; I am going to see, by and bye, that the baby is educated; because you might be a selfish, unmanly man, not worthy of the name of it, because you might care to make that youngster go out and help to earn the living for the family when it was too weak to do it, I, the State, will throw my protecting arm around the child for a certain number of years. The State says, "We realize that these little bodies, these boys and girls, are to be the men and women of the future, and we want them to grow up strong, sensible, and thoughtful men and women, and if we left them to the individual caprice of a father and mother many of them would grow up unfit men and women." And so the State takes them away. Then the State does another thing. It does not allow a man the choice as to whether he shall put a bit of paving-stone in front of his house or put a lamp up. It says, "We are going to create a municipality, or a board of works, or a county council, and so, collectively, we will attend to the roads and water them." It does not leave any man to say, "I will water this bit of the dusty road." It does it collectively. There will come into your heads what an enormous number of things the State does. Now, many men, and the number is growing very rapidly, are spreading abroad this very principle—that the State should not only do what it does, but that it should do more: that it should take over some of our sources of wealth and large industries. I am not saying whether that principle is right or wrong, but it is growing very rapidly, and permeating a large number of the level-headed men of the day. A man said to me, "I cannot, for the life of me, see why the State should not take over the mines to work them the same as it does the Post Office—(cheers)—paying out those who are interested in them now, and paying the miners a *minimum* wage, with a pension at the end, like it does the postmen and the policemen." Well, this is just the idea that is in the air; but the idea of to-day very often is the great fact of to-morrow. Now, my point is this, if we are going in bit by bit for the nationalization of wealth, if the State or the nation is going to take over these large centres of wealth, and control the large centres of industry, I maintain that it is only logical, and according to the past history of the nations of the world, it is only common sense that the nation should recognize religion in this wealthy and industrial community; because, remember this, working-men, it is not wealth, and it is not the re-distribution of wealth, that will make up the greatness of the country; it is character. That is the true capital of the country. (Cheers.) There passed away a man a little while ago—I will tread gently over dead men's graves, and, therefore, not mention his name—a man possessed of enormous wealth; but what did he do with it? He spent it upon women, race-horses, and fighting-men. Imagine a country made up of such men—wealthy men, but men of no character. Will you tell me whether the country would stand, as it does to-day, in the forefront of the nations of the world if that was the character of your nation? Look at your own ranks. Who are the men that are the backbone of your trades unions, of your Foresters' Societies, of your Odd Fellows, of the large societies that you have brought together up and down the land? Not your boosers, not your cadgers, not your loafers; but the men of character, of grit. They are the men that make the backbone of the nation. Therefore, I submit that it is economically and ethically sound for the nation to give its moral and financial support to a movement whose aim is to produce character.

Canon Jacobs said that the nation or State does not pay one clergyman. That is absolutely true, and you men ought to know it, and if you read the Budgets you must know that the State does not pay the clergymen. But I maintain that it would be money well laid out if the State would plant down so many thousands a year. You want more men to devote their whole time to agitate up and down the country towards producing better characters. (Cheers.) Some men very often say to me, "Look at the money that is spent on the Church. What has it produced?" I decline to allow moral work to be put down in that way. You cannot tabulate and put down in statistics what the Church is producing. I will put it to you in this way. A few years ago down in West Ham, which I am an alderman of, and where I live, we started fighting and agitating for a free library. We did not get a beautiful building such as you have got here for Birmingham, but when we were fighting for it some of the mingy ratepayers there said, "That means another 1d. in the pound. What are you going to give us for the 1d.?" One man said, "Look here, Phillips, I am willing to

pay another 1d. for better paving-stones or for more sewers, but I want to know what you are going to give me." I said, "When we have got our free library I admit that I shall not be able to point to more paving-stones, or more lamps, or more sewers, but let the library alone for four or five years and I will point you to men who are bigger men intellectually, morally, and spiritually because of the contact with the great minds who wrote the books which we shall store in that library." (Cheers.)

So, working-men, because you cannot tabulate and put down the number of men who are leading better lives because of this great pulsing power of the preaching and the teaching and the praying that is going on up and down the land and all over it by means of this great Church of England to-day—because you cannot tabulate the results, I say that it is unfair to say that they are doing nothing. I say that by and by, when you and I have passed from here, and we stand side by side by God's recording angel, and he permits us to look down at that book, and we read the writing there, we shall see what a large number of men there are who are better fathers and grander men, and whose lives were made purer; and what a number of mothers there are who were made more motherly, and what a number of young men who were made stronger, and we shall see that great roll call of the humble heroes of everyday life who were produced by the power of the Church of to-day, and we shall be silent as to the mere little money that has been spent upon it. (Cheers.) So, as we tend onwards towards Socialism, I plead by the history of the nations who are running a Godless Socialism—I plead by the history of their failures—that it is all imperative that we should have a large, living, powerful religion spreading up and down the land that shall make real the motives of men, and make them brotherly, godly, noble, and unselfish. True permanency of character must be created and nourished by the religion of Christ, or, believe me, there will come an awful reaction. I do not know anything more disappointing and more terrible than for a man to live and toil, give up his leisure and give up his thought towards some ideal, and, by-and-bye, he reaches that ideal, and when he reaches it he finds that it is rotten: it is a burst bubble, and he holds it in his hand, and the thing that he has lived for crumbles in his hand, and goes down a wreck at his feet. I tell you men to-day, who are looking forward to Socialism built up without God, that you are giving too much time to it. I admire your industry, I admire your self-denial; but there will come a time when that Socialism will burst in your hands like a bubble. You will have change—perhaps a redistribution of wealth; but the selfishness, and the grasping, and the wolfishness, and the devilishness of men will still be there, and your beautiful ideal will be gone. Because I want to ward off that day I plead with you common-sense Englishmen that you will do all that you can to stand by the principle, and support in every way that you can the principle, that the nation shall have more and more of the religion of Christ spreading up and down it, rather than that it should be hindered, or hampered, or fettered in any way. (Cheers.)

Then another point that I just want to put before you is this: What form of national religion shall we recognize? My brother men, I do think that it must be a large-backed, catholic, all-embracing form; it must be a form that shall be able to stretch its hands out on the right hand and on the left, like the Christ who founded it, and say "Whosoever will may come" to the plain wayfaring man, to the man of culture, to the broad man, and, perhaps, to the narrow man. It should be a Church that shall be wide enough for all to enter in; and I do claim that, with all its faults, we have that in our midst to-day. (Cheers.) There are faults in some of its men, very likely, but oh, believe me, and ever remember this—that principles are bigger than men, and that the faults of men do not alter principles. I remember a little while ago meeting a sailor down in the dock district near where I live, and the man said to me, "Look here, Phillips, do you see that?" and he held in his hand a ticket of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. He said, "I am going to tear it in halves." I said, "You won't. What are you going to tear it in halves for? You were one of the first men to join this branch of our union." "Well," he said, "things have gone badly. Havelock Wilson has muddled affairs." I said, "What has Havelock Wilson to do with the principle of trades unionism? If it was important that you should stand side by side five or six years ago and form a great solid rock, and say to the shipowners, 'Thus far shall you go and no farther; we have a right to a certain wage'—if the principle was right then, it is sound now, and no fault or blunder of Havelock Wilson can alter the fundamental principles of trades unionism." And so, if you know some clergymen who are unworthy of the name of clergymen, it does not alter the principles of the Church that they belong to. (Cheers.) Go up to the man if you like, and take him by the coat, and say, "Look here, I want to shake you up to your position." (Laughter and cheers.) Say, if you like, that he is bringing disgrace on

a great institution with a glorious record. Tell him all that; but do not attempt to think that his inconsistency alters the broad principles of the National Church of which he is a member.

Just one other point. It is this—that an Established Church means time and wealth and leisure for the production of books. I may be speaking wrongly, but I do feel very strongly that if we were to disestablish and disendow the Church of England we should undermine a security which gives a large amount of time to men in our University settlements to produce great thoughts and write great books. You cannot afford to despise culture. Who does the "bossing" in the ranks of the working-men to day? It is not the fool. It is the working-man who has got most culture and brain power in his head. Where are they going to get this culture if you weaken the thing that is producing it? I believe that that would happen if this Church of England was disestablished and disendowed. The poorest in the land are going to feel it the most. (Cheers.) We have been holding, and everybody here holds, I suppose, that the poorest should have a large share in a great many of the good things which God has sent. I hold that the rapture of art, and literature, and music ought to be brought down to the doorstep of every man and every woman as far as it possibly can. Why in our county council we so thought of the little ones that a couple of us moved a resolution that we should get some truck-loads of sand from the sea-side and fix them down on a plot of ground in a bit of park, which we have got, and have it so arranged that the little children of the dockers could get their penny spades and pails and go and dig over the sand in our park—(cheers)—just the same, you know, as the bishop's little youngsters can play down on Brighton beach. (Great laughter.) That is very democratic, but it is very right that the poorest and the weakest should have a share in the best. Follow me now. If this Church of England is disestablished and disendowed, the money which it can now afford to plant down men of power and men of culture in a slum or in a village will not be available; and if that system does not exist, what system will come about? Now I am not going to say a word against Dissenters, but I am going to speak about their system. The men that are the attractive men of Dissent are men that can be bought up by the big churches, and the small people and the village people have to put up with the worst class of Nonconformist ministers to-day. (Cheers.) I do not mean, of course, the worst class morally or the worst class spiritually, but the worst class intellectually and powerfully. If a man has got the gift of attracting a big crowd he does not preach in a little chapel in the slums. He gets away up to the City Temple. (Laughter and cheers and voices, "Three cheers for Parker.") My point is that under the present system the Church is putting some men not very far off from Parker into our slums and into our villages—men of real power.

Just one point, and I have done. ("Go on.") I believe that very largely this question of disestablishment and disendowment that has been floating about in the air is a red herring drawn all across your path, and absolutely nothing else. I believe it to be a red herring of the Conservative and Liberal capitalists in the House of Commons, because they know that if they did not bring up something, just the same as Home Rule was brought up, they could not block the way for real labour legislation. You are going to have labour legislation delayed. I know what I am talking about very well. (Cheers.) I say this. (Interruption and a hiss, and cries of "Order.") Now look here; the Bishop told you that you can come and talk directly I have done. I give my word that I will not hiss anything that you say. You may say what you like. Just let me make myself clear. I say that disestablishment and disendowment, if it were passed to-morrow, would not mean three ounces of bacca a week more to a single fellow. The question of pensions for old age or of better methods than we have now got of dealing with our poor; those are the bread-and-butter questions of the time. Such questions as employment for the unemployed in our cities are questions for you. Then there is the question of what you are going to do with your men who are over fifty. All up and down the country the factories say, "Owing to the competitive system we cannot take them on over fifty." The municipalities say, "We cannot put men on the roads over fifty because they are too weak." Yet where is the statesman who is going to say, "I will find a solution for this"? That is the bread-and-butter politics, and that is the sort of politics that you want. Yes, and as long as these questions of disestablishment and disendowment are going to be put in the front to stir and split up the country, real democratic legislation is going to be blocked and hindered.

So I say to you, working-men, you know what it is to toil hard, and go home with sweaty hands and black faces, and tired and weary, and go into houses where you have only two or three rooms. You do not know what it is when the baby cries to

say, "Take the baby into the nursery." (Laughter and cheers.) As a married man I have very great pity for the working-man when the youngster is cutting his teeth and is crying all night, and the father has got to be up at six o'clock. Whether he has had a good night or a bad night, he has to get up and go out to his work. Legislation that will tend to make your condition easier, and remove some of the hard crusts of your life, is the legislation that I am going to support. (Cheers.) My point is, do not stand outside and criticize. Anybody can do that. We have got faults, but come inside and help us to make it a more practical Church. I remember a gnat fly one hot day seeing a horse pull a load up a hill, and it went and stung him. That did not help the horse. Some persons are like gnat flies. Some of her bishops wish that they could make the Church more popular, and they would be glad of your help, and you simply sting them. Come and be baptized if you have not been. That is the initial service. Come and be baptized, just as you would join the Foresters or some other brotherhood, and then say, "I am a member of this association, my Lord Bishop, and I claim my right to have a voice in the government of this community." (Cheers.) Then make it a bigger Church. Make it more brotherly and more national, but on economic, patriotic, and religious grounds do not disestablish and disendow the English Church. (Cheers.)

Address by the Very Rev. WILLIAM LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich.

MY LORD PRESIDENT, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, MY BROTHER MEN,—Amongst the last words that fell from the lips of Alderman Phillips there were words which evidently struck a chord in your hearts for a reason which I will not pause to discover. He spoke of "bread and butter politics." Some time since, England, in the plenitude of her strength, won a glorious victory in Abyssinia. In Abyssinia there is an old custom that, whenever any guests are invited to an entertainment, the host who invites the guests is careful before they depart to put upon the head of each of them a little pat of Abyssinian butter. (Laughter.) I am not going now to dilate upon the inconvenience in a tropical climate of an oleaginous chaplet; but this I will say, that I address this meeting with rare pleasure, because, up to the present, you, the guests of the Church Congress—you, who for the first time in the history of Congresses, have taken your rightful place upon the Subjects Committee, have not yet had to-night one single pat of platform butter; and you are not going to have it from me. I have no desire in the world to acquire the honour of a seat in the Birmingham Town Council; neither do I desire to be a member of Parliament; and, therefore, I am not going to tell you that you are the finest fellows in the world or out of it. I think that you and I have a great deal of human nature, and I think that we are neither better nor worse than other people. But, be that as it may, I am here just now to try to tell you the truth, and to tell it to you, I hope, as plainly, as honestly, and as unreservedly as I may be permitted.

Before I enter directly upon the thoughts that are in my mind, there are four preliminaries that I submit as absolutely irreversible to myself, in the discussion of the question, and with regard to which I crave that others will be as whole-hearted in their acceptance of them.

My first proposition is this—that no system, such as the Church of England, is, on its human side, in all its parts, perfect. If it is weak here, it is strong there, and *vice versa*. If the complications of one age involve something like rigidity in its arrangements, the complications of another may demand, require, and receive, not rigidity but elasticity. The losses of one generation may be the gains of a later; and the gains of this generation may be the loss of that which is to come. My brother men, we are members, as the first speaker said, of Jesus Christ's divine society. But, because Jesus Christ, by the glorious mystery of His incarnation, had a human side to His nature, the Church has its human side, and, unlike the humanity of Christ, the humanity of the Church is, beyond doubt, liable to error in its executive and administration.

My second proposition is this—that no man, not even a working-man, who is the demigod of some politicians—no man, be he peasant or peer, or even prime minister, has any right or is justified in interfering needlessly with an institution which has stood the test of time, and which has commended itself by its work, unless his propositions effect greater improvements than the conditions which he desires to displace. (Loud cheers.)

My third proposition is, very simply, this—beware of over-legislation. Over-legislation, even upon the limited dimensions which were indicated as almost the ideal of Canon Fremantle, tends to tyranny. Over-meddling leads to hopeless muddling. It leads to undue interference with individual authority, and very often the suppression of individual expression of opinion.

Fourthly, and lastly, in this connection—(I am very thankful that Canon Jacob defined this proposition)—what do we gain? But who are here meant? Not the clergy; not their wives; not their families; but since you are on the Subjects Committee, we have to look at the proposition from the standpoint of its authors, and, therefore, the thesis is what the men of Birmingham, what the men of England, what we the citizens of the greatest Empire which the world has ever seen, gain, and what we lose, by the connection between the Church and the State. And now I come to state what I believe we do gain. The first thing we gain is the indisputable, invaluable blessing which comes from the national recognition of Almighty God. It is the bounden duty of every one of God's dependent creatures to recognize, honour, and obey the Lord of all; and whatever be the position of an individual, in his personal capacity, as the head of his house, or as the head of an establishment, the obligation pursues him from the limited publicity of his individual life into the sanctity of his domestic life, and it follows him into the larger sweeps of his economic life. He must recognize God, as a man; recognize Him, as a father; recognize Him either as a labourer or an employer. And every obligation which binds an individual to the recognition of God binds the nation, with this additional and inevitable imperative—that the only way which a nation can recognize God is by establishing a form of religion. The individual may recognize God, as you do, in the silence of your hearts. As you walk in the streets of Birmingham to your work, and as you struggle home tired and toil-worn to the family circle, the spot you dearly love, this may be done in the silence of your own heart. But does it not stand to reason that this is impossible in the case of a nation? The nation must recognize God publicly and in its corporate capacity.. And then there are only two methods in which this recognition is possible; first by the recognition of all forms of faith or unfaith, thereby overlooking the special merits, the history, and the Scriptural character of each; or, having thought these matters out, then deliberately and of set purpose select one, and that one, as in this case, the oldest, the most comprehensive, and the most Apostolic, the Church which has gathered up the past into the present, and that will hand on the past with the present to the future, and transmit to unborn ages the glorious inheritance of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. (Cheers.) For this, my brothers, there is divine authority. God has said, "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be learned, ye that are judges in the earth. Serve the Lord with fear. Rejoice before Him with reverence. Kiss the Son lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way."

And who will deny that God has blessed England? Who will deny that her obedience has brought blessing? Is there a nation in the world that has such possibilities, such power, such peace, such moral advantages? London, the heart of the nation, is the almshouse of a starving world. (Cheers.) This, I say, is a great gain—the blessing of God upon obedience to His law. The second gain is this—that there are voluntary workers who consecrate their time, their lives, their education, their substance to the moral service of the nation in which they live, without receiving one single farthing by way of pay. The army, the navy, the militia, the volunteer forces, are subsidized by the State, and rightly. Art is subsidized; warfare is subsidized; science is subsidized; education is subsidized; but so far as the Church of England is concerned there is no subsidy whatever given to the three and twenty thousand clergy; and at least ten thousand of them are married, and the wives of the clergy of the Church of England are worth, for work, for sympathy, for wisdom, and for blessedness and power, all the sisterhoods in the whole of this island. (Cheers.) You have, then, 33,000 workers, devoting themselves and their lives and powers to the moral well-being of the nation, and this is carried on by means of the parochial system. What is that parochial system? Why, it is this—that there is not a spot in England that can be described as "no man's land." Every spot in this country, ah! and I must not forget Wales, just because Wales is attacked—(cheers)—every spot of England and of Wales is covered in and covered over by the parochial system, and every soul within the acreage of the separate parishes may have, to some extent, what Canon Fremantle desired that they should have, the sympathy of the clergyman that is appointed to minister, his guidance in perplexity, his help in weakness, his counsel in complications, and everything that a godly man is desired, and is believed, and is likely to bring to bear upon the conditions to which he may, in his sphere, be called upon to address himself. Here are the conditions. Here is the parochial system at work. Think of it. As

Alderman Phillips very truly said, if this was taken away the souls who need the clergy most are the very persons who would be the first to suffer, and suffer sorely. Well, then, the message of the Church to the nation is something on this fashion. Here are 23,000 clergymen ; there are their wives and their daughters ; there are the churches. They are open, open whenever you want them ; and they dare not be closed upon the Lord's day. Be the clergyman ill, be the clergyman well, under every condition the Church must be opened ; and if not opened the clergyman is liable to reprimand or to punishment. If the parochial system ceased to obtain to-morrow, those churches might be closed, just as any Nonconformist chapel may be closed, except any member of that separate society should take proceedings against the minister thereof. But, in the case of the Church of England, there is no such thing possible ; and the man who would have his church closed would be liable beyond a doubt to punishment. Here, then, is a great fact ; and this is a great gain. Is there anything like it in the whole history of the English Commonwealth—such a mass of service without fee, without reward? No entry appears in either Mr. Goschen's budget or Sir William Harcourt's budget ; no wrangling in the debates on Supply about the sum that is appropriated to the clergy of the Established Church. Not a word, because it is not possible. There is no such thing. And, more, there is no such thing as the property of the Church of England, as such. The endowments that we possess are possessed by separate corporations ; and there is no such thing as a great nest-egg and a great balance in the pockets of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who administer our funds. The property of the Church is bequeathed by the generosity of the past to corporations sole ; and that being so, you have to deal with all the complications of individual corporations. Now, to-night, I am going to do a very bold thing, and I shall, I believe, be pardoned for it. My lord, you asked any working-man to come up to this platform and ask any question of any of the speakers. I thought it rather hard, because I had no notice of this assault which might be going to be made upon one. But now I am the working-man, for the moment, and, my lord, if you will allow me, I am going to ask your lordship a few questions ; and then I am going to ask the Bishop of Wakefield a few questions ; and then, if you will allow me, subject to the rule of our beloved and revered diocesan, I will ask your young friend, the old rector, a few questions. Now, then, my lord, will you kindly tell this great assembly, for whose spiritual interest, in the providence and love of God, you have such profound concern, in the first place, how long you have been an ordained minister of the Church of England?

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

Forty-seven years.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH.

Now, my lord, will you kindly inform this great meeting whether you ever in your life received any stipend from the State?

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

Never a penny. (Cheers.)

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH.

I am much obliged to you, my lord. I do not think that his lordship has been catechized for a long time. (Laughter.) Now, if you please, we will go a little farther north, and we will examine a bishop, the sight of whose shovel hat in the East of London was sufficient to evoke a cheer from the hardy sons of toil who knew him. (Loud cheers.) My Lord Bishop of Wakefield, will you kindly tell this great assembly how long you have been in the Christian ministry?

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF WAKEFIELD.

Forty-seven years. (Laughter.)

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH.

Will you now inform us, did you ever receive any stipend from the State?

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF WAKEFIELD.

Never a penny. (Laughter.)

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH.

Well, you know, my brother men, bishops are remarkable persons, and they may have been hardly treated by those whom we term "the powers that be." We will now come to our young friend, the old rector. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Rector, will you inform this assemblage how long you have been in the ministry?

The Rev. CANON WILKINSON.

Fifty-four years. (Cheers.)

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH.

Did you ever in your life receive any stipend from the State?

The Rev. CANON WILKINSON.

Not the fraction of a bad farthing. (Laughter and cheers.)

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF NORWICH.

My brother men, you have heard the statement of the two bishops and of our good friend the rector. Will you pass the question on. Pass it on from one end of England to the other. Call upon the Liberation Society to explain how they dare say that the clergy of the Church of England are State-paid. (Cheers.) When you have done this, and reflected upon all that it implies, then remember that to some extent I have made good my second point, that the union between the Divine society of the Church of England and the State, because of the voluntariness of its services, and the gratuitousness of its labour, so far as State-aid is concerned, is the noblest, the freest, and the cheapest institution at present existing in England. (Cheers.) This is, beyond a doubt, a great gain. My third point is this: I regard the union between the Church and the State as a great gain to the nation, because it ensures fixity of the expressions of our belief. We have this Book of Common Prayer. It has come down to us in its present form from the far off past. There are prayers in it that date from the earliest century; and there in that Book you have Catholic. Apostolic, Divine, Scriptural truth, as you have not in any other manual of devotion known to mankind. Now, bear with me, for I am coming to a delicate point, but that does not distress me in the least. We are living, we have lived, in an age of sharp controversy. There has been a great deal of very unhappy litigation in the Church. There have been legal decisions given on this point and on that; and, however you and I may feel with regard to them, this at least is certain, that we are by these decisions made acquainted with what lawyers term "the glorious uncertainty of the law;" but in all the litigation, in all the appeals to courts, in all the controversies, there has never been one sentence or one word of the grand old Prayer-book altered. That comes to us with all the inheritance that it has won from the past of Catholic truth. It comes to us as purified and refined at the Reformation. It comes to us as the manual of devotion; and I venture to say—I say it as, at least, my conviction—that if the union between the Church and the State were dissolved, my fear is that our Prayer-book, through the deplorable and impassioned rivalries of parties, would be torn to pieces. This would be a humbling issue, one to be deplored and regretted by every one of us. And as I think of this, and think of what that Prayer-book means, I thank God that I can rejoice that it is unaltered amid the tribulations and antagonisms of recent times as one of the great gains accruing to us from this connection. And now I come to my fourth point—my last—which has not yet been mentioned. I am not going to appraise the relative values of these various gains, but, men of Birmingham, I am going to say this, and say it fearlessly, most respectfully, and with a desire for the glory of God, that to the connection between the Church and the State is due the continuity of the Protestant Succession to the throne of this realm. (Cheers.) From the earliest

times the Sovereign was crowned by a bishop or archbishop. Our coronation service dates from before the Norman conquest, and, what is more, when our Sovereign is consecrated, or crowned, he has beyond a doubt to declare certain facts and certain purposes which we may not for one moment ignore or disparage. The Sovereign is required to join in communion with the Church of England, as by law established. He swears at his coronation, first, to maintain the law of God; secondly, the true profession of the Gospel; thirdly, the Protestant reformed religion as established by law. (Cheers.) Sever the Church from the State, give what is termed religious equality, which does not practically exist in the highest sense of the term, unless all creeds are equally false and equally true, however they can be both, but sever the connection between the Church and the State, and there is no reason why the sovereign should be of the Church of England, or should not be an agnostic, an infidel, a materialist, a Buddhist, or a Romanist. Men of England, are you prepared for the latter contingency? ("No.") I tell you, as in the sight of God, in the presence of the bishops of the Church here, and of the Archbishop of Dublin, that rather than run the risk of seeing a Romanist upon the throne in an empire the glory of which is largely coincident with the progress of the Reformation, I would see Dr. Dale in the House of Lords as the leader of national religion, and the Archbishop of Canterbury a private individual. I would prefer this to running the risk of abridging the civil and religious liberties of England by rolling back the tide of progress, moral, intellectual, national, and material, by the perfidies, by the treacheries, by the infamies, that ever flourish under the blighting bane of the Italian schism. One word, and I have done. What do we lose by this connection? This has been already referred to in the masterly address of Canon Jacob. We do lose as potent and as individual a voice in the election of our bishops as the Church exercised in earlier times; and yet this loss is largely compensated for by the fact that the Prime Minister is, after all, the creation of the people, and this somewhat dissipates any sense of distress which we may feel in this connection. That is our first loss. The second loss is that we have not the power without the State to summon our Convocations for the despatch of business. I believe the day is not far distant when that loss will give place to a nobler gain. I believe in the power of a healthy public opinion, and I believe that if the Church rises up in her might and strengthens her cords by tender self-sacrifice and whole-hearted consecration to the national well-being, there is no reform that we may not effect, and there is no requirement that we may not win, and win at the hands of the people, who, after all, mould and form the legislature to which we shall have to appeal. Then the third loss is this—that we cannot effect reforms as rapidly as we desire. I think it is rather a good thing that we cannot. I believe, as I said before, in the slow ripening of reformations, especially with regard to such a vast institution as the Church of England is, and I am certain of this that the more we stand by this old Church, endeavouring with the help of God to mould our executive to modern necessities, to preserve the truth, which may be bought at any price but sold at none, and to address ourselves to the masses with all their miseries, to the sons of toil in all their sorrows, dealing with homes that are rotting, and houses that are festering, and hearts that are bleeding—the more we address ourselves to these great problems, and show the sympathy of the man, Christ Jesus, the longer will be our lease of our present possessions, and the nobler the inheritance which we shall pass on to the future. (Loud cheers).

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SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 16, 1873.

ON

MR. MIALL'S MOTION

FOR THE DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT OF THE CHURCH.

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SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I rise at this early period to claim the attention of the House for a short time, not because I have ventured to take into my own hands the decision how long the House shall think proper to discuss a question which is undoubtedly of the greatest importance, and which presents a most copious supply of matter for consideration, but because I do not desire that there should be even the slightest appearance of delay or hesitation on the part of the Government in declaring the course they mean to take with respect to the motion of my hon. friend—a motion on which he has spoken out with the utmost plainness the purposes which he has in view; indeed, with so much plainness that I think it leaves us nothing to regret, except the fact that, as his motion happens to be made, by no fault of his, as an amendment of the original motion that the Speaker should leave the Chair, we have not an opportunity of giving it that direct Aye or No which we should have been able to do if he had happened to move it upon a day allotted to independent members. I think great interest attaches to the facts which have been stated by my hon. friend the member for Edinburgh. No man has more laboriously considered the statistics of the religious condition of Scotland, and I hope he will not think I undervalue them if I forbear to notice them upon the present occasion. But I pass them by for a reason of which I think he will feel the force—that we all know very well this question will not be decided by a reference to the specialities of the case of Scotland, but rather by a reference to those general conditions on

which my hon. friend the member for Bradford founded himself in the course of his argument. With respect to my hon. friend the member for Bradford himself, I have often had the pleasure of hearing him. I am always certain to find in his speeches great ability, careful examination and research, and evidence palpable of goodwill towards all men. (Hear, hear.) Let us consider what the motion of my hon. friend is. He invites us to assert five propositions. The first is, that the Establishment by law of the Churches of England and Scotland involves a violation of religious equality; the second is, that it deprives those Churches of the right of self-government; the third is, that it imposes on Parliament duties which it is not qualified to discharge; the fourth is, that it is hurtful to the religious and political interests of the community; and the fifth is, that, therefore, they ought no longer to be maintained. I am not prepared to adopt these propositions. I feel it impossible to discuss them in the manner in which they ought to be discussed. They are propositions with an enormous sweep and volume, on which he has entered at some length, but not at a length nearly sufficient to do justice to the vast importance and immense complications of the matters involved. They have been, and may be again, the subject of lengthy and comprehensive speeches. They may occupy for months and years, at some period or other, the attention of this House; but I do not think that we are qualified at this moment, any more than we are disposed, to attempt to deal with them in a manner which their importance and difficulty would demand. My hon. friend has stated one side of the case. He founded himself not on a violation of religious equality, but upon the sufferings of the Church of England itself, upon the difficulties that it undergoes, upon the hopeless helplessness of its condition, upon the proposition which he asserts that there are but few members of the Church of England who will not admit that if she were disassociated from the State she would be relieved from many disadvantages.

Well, all members of the Church of England are perfectly sensible that there are many difficulties in the conduct of her government, and many difficulties in the prosecution of her work, in the condition in which she now stands. But my hon. friend must not overlook the fact that those conditions are not to be got rid of by the course he recommends. My hon. friend says it is sometimes argued that the established condition of the Church of England is highly favourable to Free

Thought, and he points triumphantly to Ireland, and asks, Is thought less free in Ireland at this moment than it was before Disestablishment ? Now, I am not going to recant anything which I have said on the subject of the Irish Church Disestablishment, but I am bound to say, if my hon. friend challenges me to say—in reference to the present condition of that Church, whether there is not more freedom for religious thought in the Disestablished Church in Ireland—I willingly accept the challenge, and declare, that she is less free than she was before. (Great cheering from the Opposition.) I earnestly hope that the dangers the Irish Church is encountering or provoking may pass away; but I must honestly confess that if, as an individual member of the Church of England, more than as a Minister, my honourable friend thinks to lure me out of the condition in which I find myself in the Established Church by pointing out the felicity or tranquillity our brethren in Ireland are at this moment enjoying (laughter), I entirely differ from him, and I would rather remain where I am. This is a question which cannot be disposed of by banter. (Renewed cheering.) I do not deny that there is much to discourage and facilitate a movement like this of my hon. friend. In the first place, he represents a large body of opinions in the country. In former times the differences of the Nonconformists from the Church of England turned mainly upon discipline. They have now gone deeper. My hon. friend is accustomed to represent, I believe with truth, the position of the Nonconformists as one resting upon the conviction that Establishment itself is essentially injurious to religion, and that, therefore, the establishment of their own religion, were it to be taken as it is, would be just as objectionable and as offensive in their eyes as the Establishment of the Church of England. (Hear, hear.) In the next place, I do not deny that the disturbances and distractions of the Church of England excite dissensions of this kind. They are disturbances and distractions which probably we all view with deep regret. (Hear, hear.) Differences, however, are not confined to the Church of England. Christianity is at this moment passing through a most fiery trial. The faith and conscience of men are now awakened with regard to questions of religion in a manner of which perhaps there is no example for several centuries past. Before we conclude, on account of the present differences, to adopt the remedy offered by my hon. friend, we must require much more careful, much more searching, proofs that such differences could be composed by the method he

propounds. We have in this country a number of Non-conforming bodies, which, although considerable in themselves, are yet of limited extent as religious communities, and I must say that most of these Non-conforming bodies appear to me to exercise the principles and powers of self-government with very considerable success. They have, I admit, avoided many controversies which in larger Churches in the world are rife, and they appear to attain in no inconsiderable measure the great ends of religious activity and religious peace. But it will not do for my hon. friend, even if that admission is made, to draw from it the conclusion that the same state of things would prevail were you to take a great historical and National Church like the Church of England and place it in the condition of a private religious community. (Cheers.) I would illustrate what I mean by a reference to the forms of government in Europe. You take the case of Switzerland, a small isolated country, and you find that there has been no difficulty whatever in discharging almost all important purposes of government for centuries under a Republican form of government. When, however, you go into the great countries of Europe and there supplant and overthrow the ancient forms of government the effect is altogether different. (Opposition cheers.) My hon. friend has, I admit, other allies. He has allies in a sense of religious indifference, which, at any rate upon the continent of Europe, greatly tends to widen the chasm existing between religious and civil offences, and yet more powerful allies than all, and what I must call the violent assertions of ecclesiastical prerogative, which have been singularly and painfully characteristic of the present age, which have produced and will produce vehement reaction on the part of the human mind and intellect, and which are undoubtedly tending on a large scale, in the opinion of the civilised world, to sever religious and civil affairs. Having made these admissions, and in no niggardly spirit, I still must contend that the proposition of my hon. friend is a proposition which we are not prepared to adopt; and that, if we were prepared to adopt it, it would be attended by results from which the courage even of my hon. friend himself would shrink. (Cheers and laughter.) If my hon. friend were to induce the House of Commons to adopt his motion, what does he think would be the sentiment of the country to-morrow morning! (Cheers.) What would be the condition of the Parliament which had affirmed his proposal? As my hon. friend says, it is undoubtedly he constituencies which have to decide whether the Church of England is to

remain an Established Church or not. But what does my hon. friend think would be their decision? Some time ago, when he made a somewhat similar motion to this, I ventured to point out to him that there were no signs of public concurrence in the views which he recommended, and that statement of mine has frequently been described as a challenge. My hon. friend has given no sanguine account of what he himself believes to be the state of feeling in the country. When the views he has urged have been urged with attention in different parts of the country, the mode of their acceptance has, to say the least of it, been very equivocal. If we are to look at the local indications which from time to time and from year to year are afforded by popular feeling, can we say that they tend to inspire us with the conviction that the opinions advocated by my hon. friend are spreading? And if we are to suppose that an election were to occur upon this question I can but say that for my own part I believe that the people of England, not of one party or of another, but the people of England in the broadest sense of the word, would return to Parliament a still smaller number of members inclined to entertain the question of the disestablishment of the English Church than is even to be found in the Parliament addressed by my hon. friend to-night. (Cheers.) I think my hon. friend, like many of us, has been misled by what happened in the case of the Irish Church. I venture to say now, as I ventured to say then, that the two cases were distinguished broadly, vitally, and essentially upon every point without exception upon which they could be brought into comparison. (Cheers.)

My hon. friend has not spoken to-night of the numbers composing the Church of England. That subject has been one of much dispute. I am extremely sorry that we have not been able to agree among ourselves upon a mode of ascertaining the truth upon this matter by a certain test. (Cheers.) We have had an account taken of the attendances on a certain day. That account is a very important one, but it is very far from supplying a conclusive test. For my hon. friend must recollect that it is part of the case of the Established Church, as a National Church, to carry in her train a number of persons chained to her by far looser ties than those which bind members to unestablished communities. Therefore, the measure of her following cannot be accurately determined by ascertaining the number of worshippers on one particular day. Those who argue the cause of the Establishment will tell you, and with force and truth, that it

is possible to do so. The immediate fruit of her labours in this direction must be necessarily very small, but that is no reason why they should be totally lost sight of. I will not go the length of saying that the register of marriages supplies an accurate and absolute test, or that it even supplies a better test than the attendance, but one may be very usefully employed to correct the other, and if on the one hand it be more than the truth that 78 per cent. of the population are members of the Established Church, it is probably far less than the truth to say that one-half is the true proportion. (Opposition cheers.) Making full allowance for the state of opinion in Wales and particular portions of England, my conviction is that a very considerable majority of the people of this country are by some tie or another attached to the opinions of the Church of England. (Cheers.) I said that my hon. friend had been misled by what occurred in reference to the Irish Church. And first I will throw the responsibility upon hon. gentlemen opposite. When the case of the Church of Ireland was discussed, many who sat in this House, and many of great weight, dignity, and importance—many Bishops on the bench, and many great authorities—insisted that the case of the two Churches was the same—that it was perfectly impossible to destroy the Irish Church without in common consistency and propriety proceeding to destroy the Church of England. My hon. friend was no doubt to a certain extent taken in by those assurances. He interpreted them as promises on the part of the gentlemen who used them that they would be his allies in destroying the English Church. But he finds now that there is no one of those persons—commoner or peer, layman or clergyman—who used that argument in the controversy with respect to the Irish Church who is not a most resolute opponent of my hon. friend with regard to his proposition respecting the English Church. Besides that, I admit that in the very fact of the external resemblance of the two Churches there was something in the destruction of the one likely, at any rate, to induce attack upon the other. That I admit ; but here again my hon. friend has been misled. The apparent similarity of the cases could not long conceal their essential differences, and I believe that, as factitious and momentary causes have given the movement so well represented by my hon. friend something of a temporary character, he will find himself in no inconsiderable degree deserted—a desertion of which we shall see increasing evidence from time to time. (Cheers.) Sir, my hon. friend does not

deny that it is only a small minority in this House that he represents ; and with the fairness of mind which he possesses, and from which nothing, I believe, could possibly draw him aside, I do not think he would urge that that minority in this House would be increased in number if it were in our power to take the judgment of the country upon this great subject. (Hear, hear.) And that judgment of the country he himself must admit to be the final standard of action. (Hear, hear.) It would not be possible, Sir, within the limits of a moderate speech to give any sort of tolerable picture of the true state of the case ; but I must enter a protest against the general character of the representation of my hon. friend when he speaks of the hopelessness and helplessness of the Church of England. I shall not adopt the language of exaggeration. I do not mean to say that the Church of England is not seriously hampered in her work. Her connexion with the State, which is a part of her lot, and which has brought her many advantages in former times, and has been an almost vital incident of her condition, must necessarily bring its disadvantages too. But my hon. friend has represented the dark side of the picture, and the dark side alone. If the speech of my hon. friend contained upon the whole a just description of the Church of England, what a lamentable picture she would present to the eyes of impartial observers ! Where, Sir, are we to find impartial observers ? Not easily, perhaps, among ourselves, because feeling and affection profoundly enter into the discussion of this question, and prevent us from judging with that perfectly dispassionate calmness which we should ourselves desire. But abroad we may sometimes find those who, with accurate knowledge of the condition of this country, and especially of its religious condition, unite discrimination and perfect impartiality of feeling. Now the House is usually alarmed at the production of a printed book, but there is no occasion for such alarm now. I am about to read some passages from the work of a very eminent man—Dr. Döllinger—whom for many years I have had the privilege of calling my friend—one who is thoroughly acquainted with the religious condition of this country, and than whom no one has a deeper sympathy with English institutions in general. I shall read from a work published by his authority in this country, entitled *Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches.* I shall not read all he says about the Church of England, first because it is too long, and next

because my hon. friend has supplied us with most of what could be said about her calamities and wounds and sores (a laugh); but I will read what he says on the other side—not garbled passages, but such as convey a fair and just impression of his views. Dr. Döllinger says:—

"It may still be said with truth that no Church is so national, so deeply rooted in popular affection, so bound up with the institutions and manners of the country, or so powerful in its influence on national character. During the last forty years it has extended its range, besides strengthening itself internally, by the foundation of numerous colonial bishoprics in all parts of the globe. It possesses a rich theological literature, inferior only to the German in extent and depth, and an excellent translation of the Bible, a masterpiece of style and more accurate than the Lutheran. . . . . But what I should estimate most highly is the fact that the cold, dull indifferentism, which on the Continent has spread like a deadly mildew over all degrees of society, has no place in the British Isles. To whatever extent scepticism may have advanced among the younger generation, on the whole the Englishman takes an active part in Church interests and questions, and that unnatural hostility and division between laity and clergy produced by Ultramontanism in Catholic countries is quite unknown there. . . . . What has been accomplished during the last thirty years by the energy and generosity of religious Englishmen, set in motion and guided by the Church, in the way of popular education and Church building, far exceeds what has been done in any other country. (Cheers.) Attendance at religious worship on Sundays is not, as in France, the exception, but the rule, with the higher and middle classes. The Church Congress at Nottingham in October last (1871), in which 16 bishops and some 3,000 clergymen and laymen of the most various ranks and classes took part, presented an enviable spectacle to other nations. The weightiest religious questions of the day, and the special events and difficulties in the Anglican Church, were discussed with a dignity and thoroughness which suggests to every German the tacit inquiry whether anything of the kind would be possible with us." (Cheers.)

Now, Sir, whatever may be said of hopeless helplessness, whatever may be said of the loss of self-government, whatever may be said of the difficulty of obtaining from Parliament the measures necessary for the religious development and expansion of the Church, I should think that those who know how to estimate moral as well as legal forces should remember how much the people of this country are governed through voluntary, and not through merely coercive and

authoritative, agencies. Those who can measure the real work which has thus been described by Dr. Döllinger will be disposed to think that while, even upon the propositions of my hon. friend, some admissions may be made to him, his candour would compel him to allow that from every one of those propositions he is bound to make the largest deductions. Sir, my hon. friend will not deny the great part the Church of England has played in the past history of this country. It is all very well to complain of the Church—and I might, perhaps, complain of the particular course that some of its leading members may have taken upon this question—but the Church of England has not only been a part of the history of this country, but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass. (Cheers.) Take the Church of England out of the History of England, and the History of England becomes a chaos, without order, without life, and without meaning. (Renewed cheers.) My hon. friend will not say that the question he proposes to us, if it was not a question of the past, is a question of the present, If it be a question of the future I will not say. But this I will say—that if it be, it is a question of the future which, with reference to us, is indefinitely remote. If I were to adopt the conclusions of my hon. friend, which I do not, I should ask myself in what way I should—as one not wholly unpractised in the framing of measures for this House—endeavour to embody them in an Act of Parliament, and certainly I should have no courage to face the question. I once made a computation of what sort of allowance of property should be made to the Church of England if we were to disestablish her upon the same rules of equity and liberality with respect to property which we adopted in the case of the Irish Church, and I made out that between life incomes, private endowments, and the value of fabrics and advowsons, something like £90,000,000 sterling would have to be given in this process of disestablishment to the ministers, members, and patrons of the Church of England. (Hear, hear.) That is a very staggering kind of arrangement to make in supplying the young lady with a fortune and turning her out in life to begin the world. (Laughter.) And undoubtedly the spectacle of a Voluntary Society in the position of the Church of England, altogether independent of the State, and with money available for her purposes that can be roughly described,

or even possibly estimated, by figures like these, does present to the mind rather puzzling problems, so that prudent men, moderate men, and on my own behalf, Sir, I will say—elderly men, may venture to doubt whether they are called upon by any imperative sense of duty to join in such a crusade, even though led by my hon. friend, filling the part of Peter the Hermit. (Cheers and laughter.) Sir, I invite the House distinctly and decisively to refuse their assent to the motion of my hon. friend, because it is a motion the conclusions of which are alike at variance with the practical wishes and desires, the intelligent opinions, and the religious convictions of a large majority of the people of England.

The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud cheers from the Opposition benches.

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OF

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AND THE

DUTY OF CHURCHMEN AT THE PRESENT CRISIS.

A

SPEECH OF

THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH

AT THE

PETERBOROUGH DIOCESAN CONFERENCE

IN THE

DRILL HALL, PETERBOROUGH,

ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1885.

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SPEECH

OF THE

BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

The Bishop of Peterborough said,—Reverend Brethren of the Clergy, Brethren of the Laity,—Once more we meet in our diocesan conference for mutual counsel and co-operation. Once more we gather together, not to legislate for the diocese, but to consider how under our existing laws and constitutions we may best discharge the duties of our great trust as members of the National Church. Once more, too, we find that if our assembly lacks the keener interest that attaches to legislation, yet that the ever varying circumstances of our times, the new duties, or new methods of performing old duties that are ever arising round us, afford abundant scope for new thought and fresh discussion. Each year as it has come round has brought us its own subjects of interest, and often of novel and unexpected interest, and we have returned to our respective duties strengthened for their better performance by the counsel we have taken with each other. And certainly this year's programme for our conference is no exception to this rule. Our subjects for discussion lack neither interest or importance. The retirement of the clergy and of the bishops, the spiritual condition of the masses to whom the clergy are to minister, the maintenance of our National Church, the sad depreciation of clerical incomes, the home and foreign missions of the Church —these form a large and important list of subjects for discus-

sion, and under ordinary circumstances it would have been my duty as your president to touch briefly on each of these, setting before you what seemed to be its salient points, or at least those points on which I felt myself most needed to know your opinions and to be helped by your advice.

The Political Crisis.

I say under ordinary circumstances and in ordinary times this would have been once more my duty. But these are not ordinary times, nor do we meet under ordinary circumstances. We meet not only in the midst of the excitement and the turmoil of one of the fiercest political contests that ever divided or distracted this country, but in the very centre and crisis of what has been truly described as the widest and deepest political revolution that we have known for the last two centuries. The centre of political power, and therefore the motive power in large measure not only of the political but of the social life of this great nation, has suddenly shifted; it has passed completely and for ever from the hands which have held it for nearly two generations to other and as yet untried possessors. Now, whether that change be the unmixed good or the unmixed evil that different persons are proclaiming it to be, or whether it be, as I believe, neither all good nor yet all evil, but just of that mixed nature which marks all human life and all human history, one thing at least is clear—namely, that it closely concerns and must profoundly affect every one of the institutions of this country. For it is clear that such a change at once and necessarily places every one of our institutions on its trial. The new electors have the right to say, and, what is more, it is their duty to say, of every one of these, "We have not created this; we have hitherto had no share in, no responsibility for, its existence or its management; now we have both, and if we would be faithful to our new trust as citizens we must examine them each and all, in order to mend or end them

according to our judgment and our conscience." Every such great change, then, as that we are now witnessing is in truth a fire which must "try every man's work." Whether it will in this case consume only the wood, hay, and stubble, or burn up more precious things than they, remains to be seen, but that it will burn on and on until it has done its Divinely appointed work is absolutely certain.

The Right of the new Electorate to place the Church on her trial.

And this, which is true of every institution, is true in an especial degree as regards that institution which is so closely entwined and interlaced with every one of the others, which touches so nearly and at so many points the political, the social, the religious life of the nation—an institution which, from the prominent position it occupies and the far-reaching influence it exerts, must be either a great national good or a great national evil—the National Church of England as by law established. We of that Church, then, have no right to complain if the new electorate sharply questions its right to existence. We have no right to complain if, instead of this questioning being delayed, as some suggest, it should be made the first and foremost question to be dealt with by the new electorate. Nor have we any right to complain if those who regard that institution as useless or mischievous should earnestly press their views upon the electorate; it is not only their right, but, from their point of view, their duty to do so. All that we have the right to expect from them is that in so doing they shall deal truthfully with facts and fairly and honestly with persons. Whether they are doing so just now is a matter on which they and we hold different opinions. Clearly, then, whether we like it or no, whether our adversaries wish it or no, the mere force of circumstances, the mere necessary pressure and influence of political and social change, is forcing into prominence the great questions involved in the

maintenance of the National Church. You will then, I venture to think, pardon me if on this occasion I depart from our usual custom, and if, instead of dealing with each one of these Church questions which appear upon our agenda paper, I deal with one, and one only, and yet one which really touches and embraces all the others—namely, "What are the new duties or difficulties, if any, what the new hopes or fears, which the revolution of 1885 brings with it for the members of the National Church?"

The Qualifications of the Electorate to judge.

Now if, as regards the future of the Church, I were to say what seems to be just now the correct thing and the popular and pleasant thing to say, I should say of this, as of every other institution in the country, I have no anxiety whatever as to the results of the recent political change. I should say that none of these could possibly be injuriously affected in any way, because they are now committed to the hands of the people, and that I have "unlimited trust in the wisdom of the English people." I cannot say this, however, because I do not think it. To say that one has unlimited faith in the wisdom of the English people is only another way of saying that the wisdom of the English people is unlimited; that their decisions will always be unerringly wise, their actions unfailingly just, their judgment never hurried by impulse, warped by prejudice, clouded by passion, or misled by evil counsellors. Well, I do not believe this of any people under the sun. I hold that nations, which are only collections of individuals, are, like individuals, liable to impulses, influences, temptations, which often obscure judgment and distort from right action. I hold that nations may, as they have done in times past and will do to the end of time, often do things which they live to regret with a vain and late repentance when passion has subsided and calmer and better informed

judgment has taken its place. Besides, I have an old-fashioned habit of dissecting cant phrases by asking those who use them to define their terms, and in this case I ask those who demand my acceptance of their new formula to define the word PEOPLE. It means, I presume, or it ought to mean, not this or that section of the people but the entire nation, or, to put it practically at this moment, the entire English electorate. Well, before I say that I have unlimited trust in the wisdom of the English electorate it is I hope not disrespectful to ask what does the English electorate say of itself? I turn to the electorate and I see that it is divided into large and contending sections, each of whom loudly proclaims its deep distrust of the others. If I listen to one set of politicians and their followers I hear that their opponents are utterly without patriotism, principle, or common sense, and if I turn to those so described they tell me precisely the same things of their accusers; and if I put both these declarations together I am driven to the conclusion that there is not an ounce of sense, or patriotism, or honesty in the whole electorate, and yet I am to have implicit trust in this electorate. I am told by A. deeply to distrust B. I am told by B. to have no confidence in C. I am solemnly warned by C. against listening to D. and so on through all the letters; and then I am told to repose unlimited confidence in the entire alphabet. I am puzzled.

The Part of True Statesmen to Lead the People.

But does the word people mean, not the whole nation, but the majority of the nation? Then I ask why am I to place unlimited confidence in a majority? Are majorities always in the right? Have they never in times past been in the wrong? Have minorities never been in the right? Is it so in private life? Are the majority of each man's acquaintance here persons in whom he reposes unlimited confidence, and, if not, why must it be so in public life? For my part, I am unable to trust im-

plicitly in the purifying and elevating influences of the multiplication table or to believe in the infallibility of the odd man. I cannot say that if of a given number of persons—say 1000—501 think one way and 499 the other way that the 501 must therefore necessarily be right and the 499 necessarily wrong. I hold that there may be as much unwisdom and, what is more, as much injustice and tyranny where the many govern the few as where the few govern the many; and further, that if there be such tyranny it is the more hopeless and the more universally present tyranny of the two. I hold that there may be a *civium ardor prava jubentium* as well as the *vultus instantis tyranni.* I do not hold therefore that it is the duty of statesmen simply to shout with the largest crowd, or, as it has been more elegantly phrased of late, "to be always a little in advance of each popular movement"—a rule of action which, if the distinguished author of it had been living in Jerusalem on the first Good Friday in the history of Christendom, must have made him the first to cry, "not this man, but Barabbas." I do not hold it to be the sole duty of statesmen simply to ascertain public opinion and then to give effect to it, because I believe that we shall all have one day to answer for all our actions before a tribunal whose decisions are not likely to be framed with much regard for public opinion.

The Wage-earning Classes Impressionable and Easily Led.

Or does this phrase "the people" mean, what in the mouths of many who are now using it, it does mean, "Trust implicitly the new electorate," "believe in the absolute wisdom of the wage-earning classes of Great Britain." I ask again Why? Are they wiser, better, more calm judging than all the rest, and, if not, why am I to trust them more than any other class? Observe, I am not saying they are less worthy of trust. I do not think so. I only ask why they should be so much more so that I should trust them implicitly above all other

men? If you ask me what I really think of these new electors I can say, and say truly, that I think them no worse and no better than the rest, having their full average share with the rest of honesty and justice and intelligence, and that therefore I expect that as a class, and a class in possession of power, they will display, like all other classes, the merits and the defects of their order. They will have their class aspirations, class interests, class prejudices, class temptations, just like other men, and they will act, as other classes have done, with varying wisdom and justice according as they do or do not rise to a higher level of citizenship than that of the class and the class only. And this much more I will say for them, and that sincerely, that I have far more trust in their honesty and justice, than I have in the honesty and justice of many who are just now posing as their only true friends and advisers. King Demos has come of age and is being crowned. I believe him to be a youthful monarch of much promise with the best intentions, generous in the main, kindly and honest. But I see him, like other youthful monarchs, already surrounded by a crowd of fawning and flattering courtiers, offering for their own ends to indulge all his desires, to minister to all his passions, and assuring him, as courtiers, have done before, that he is the best, the wisest, the noblest of all monarchs. Nay, I see his Court already so fully completed that he is provided even with Court chaplains as cringing and obsequious aa Court chaplains have been of old, and who are just now busy preparing for his use a new edition of the old Church catechism in which he shall read that his duty to his neighbour is to covet and desire other men's goods, and *not* to keep his tongue from lying. As I see all this, as I see how history repeats itself, as I see how the flattery of a multitude may be as base and as depraviug as the flattery of a monarch, as I see how many and how pernicious are the influences to which the people are now being subjected—a people whom one who knew them well because he loved them

well and whom they loved and trusted as perhaps they have never loved or trusted any other man, the great and good Lord Shaftesbury, described as "impressionable and easily led"—I cannot say that I repose unlimited confidence in the wisdom of the working classes of this country, and I am not altogether without anxiety when I see them suddenly called on to decide great and difficult social and political problems which we are told "have baffled for ages the wisdom of philosophers and statesmen."

Not largely hostile to the Church, and likely to help forward Reform.

On the other hand, I do not think, I am far from thinking, that the working classes of this country are largely hostile to the Church or are likely to cast their solid vote against her. I know how many of our working men are not only attached, but intelligent Churchmen, knowing perfectly well why they are so, and in no way disposed to see the Church they love stripped of all her possessions, including those gifts which they themselves have so largely and so self-denyingly bestowed upon her, or to see themselves deprived of their inherited rights as English citizens in the English Church. I know, too, how many there are who, though not of her fold, bear her no such hate as that attributed to them, and have no desire to see her impoverished and her great work crippled and hindered for years to come at the bidding of any political party in the State; and I am persuaded that this will be seen whenever this question comes, as it must ultimately come, before the constituencies as a single issue. When the question for each voter will be, not "Shall I vote for this or that candidate *although* he is in favour of disestablishment?" but "Shall I vote for him *because* he is in favour of it?" and when they know, as they do not yet know, what disestablishment and disendowment really mean, what they mean not merely for the parson and the

Church, but for themselves and their children—when that time comes I expect that it will disappoint many hopes and some fears that fill men's minds at present. And not only then, but now, do I look for help for the Church from the working classes. I look for their help now in a most important branch of Church defence, I mean Church reform. I fully believe and hope that their advent to electoral power may help forward more than one reform that I and others have vainly striven for heretofore, and I am neither ashamed nor afraid, in the presence of this assembly, to say that I for one am glad to be able to plead for the reform of abuses in the Church with those who have no pecuniary nor class interest in maintaining them, and who only know them by the spiritual injury and moral offence they are and have long been to themselves.

The Defence of the Church by supplying information to the ignorant, an urgent duty.

Be this, however, as it may, it is before the new electorate that the Church of England is now arraigned and before it she has to plead her cause. What, then, in the view of this fact, is our present duty? In the first place, it is clearly our duty not to suffer judgment to go by default. If our enemies are busy everywhere stating their case against us, stating it persistently, ably, plausibly, then we must, as persistently, and I venture to think as persuasively and as ably, state our case in reply. We can no longer remain indifferent to these attacks in the belief, in which I myself long shared, that the best defence of the Church was her work; in the confidence that the English people would never suffer the confiscation of revenues which were so manifestly being used more and more for the highest and best interests of the nation; in the belief that the long and noble history of the Church, the record of all the services she has rendered to, and the gifts she has bestowed

upon, the nation in times past, and is rendering and bestowing now—services and gifts which make it far more true to say we have a Church-made and a Church-paid State than that we have a State-paid and State-made Church—might have sufficiently pleaded for her against those whose cry is, "Down with her to the ground." We should have remembered that, as regards the past, gratitude is but a feeble force as against religious rivalries and political ambitions in the present, while as to the success of her labours we should have remembered that it is just this very fact which so whets the eager impatience of her assailants. They see plainly enough how rapid has been her growth, how large her successes in the cause of Christianity, and all those who hate that cause, and they are many, and all those who, though they do not hate it, cannot endure that the strengthening of it should indirectly strengthen an Institution that they detest, know well that their time for injuring her is short, that give her but a few years of progress such as she has made in recent years, and she may afford to smile at her adversaries, and that, therefore, it is "now or never" with them, and what they do they must do quickly if at all. For these reasons I am compelled to come to the conclusion that Church Defence in one form or another has become the plain and imperative duty of all Churchmen. We are assured, indeed, on high authority, that disestablishment "lies in the courses of the dim and distant future." It may be so, but assuredly the commencement of the struggle which is to decide that great question lies in the near and immediate present. We cannot any longer stand by and see the ground on which our Church rests undermined before our eyes in all directions, and trains laid which even in the distant future are to bring her battlements to the ground. We can no longer listen in silence to accusations which we believe to be unjust, statements of history and of fact, which we believe to be absurdly false, assertions of principles which we hold to be

perilously unsound, and practical proposals which we regard as simply iniquitous, all largely spread abroad among the people without denial or refutation from us. The time has come, then, at last when we must unite in the task of defending our Church from these attacks, and we have at least this to thank our adversaries for, that they have at last roused and united us for that task almost as one man, and they may find, therefore, that the result of their at last plain and naked statement of all that they propose to do to us may have been just a little premature; that it may not only have roused and united apathetic Churchmen, but have shocked the conscience and religious feeling of many who are not Churchmen, and that the Church, thus fairly brought to bay, may not prove so easy a prey as they have flattered themselves it would.

The new Electorate will regard the Question in a practical light only.

At any rate we are, with a few insignificant exceptions, agreed that Churchmen must now defend their Church. And when we engage in this work of Church defence we have, I think, gained one great advantage from the change in the tribunal before which we are to plead. That change has greatly cleared and simplified the issues to be tried. The audiences to whom we are now to address ourselves will not be greatly swayed by some of the older arguments *pro* or *con.* which were once in such vogue in this controversy. They will not trouble themselves with arguments for an Establishment culled from the Old Testament or arguments for the voluntary system drawn from the New with which rival controversialists used to pelt each other in days gone by; nor will they, I think, be deeply moved even by any high abstract theory of national recognition of Religion, or as to what does or does not constitute a Christian State. The considerations which I am persuaded will influence their decision, which are already influencing it, will be just two, broad, simple, easily intelligible. They are JUSTICE and UTILITY,

They will ask these two questions and no others:—First, is it just and fair that there should be in this country an Established and Endowed Church? Second, what use is it to us and the nation, what the better are we for it, and what shall we gain or lose by its removal? These two questions—that of right and wrong, and that of profit and loss—are the two which we shall be called upon to answer before our new rulers. Well, we Churchmen shrink from neither issue—nay, we rejoice that it is on these two issues our cause is to be tried. For it is precisely in these two we believe its strength to lie.

Disestablishment and Disendowment grossly unjust to the Church.

We believe that we can show, and easily show, the working classes that it is not just for the State to seize on property which it did not give, and which was never given to it; that it is not just to confiscate every single shilling ever given for the endowment of the Church by pious donors—from the thane or the burgher of a thousand years ago down to the mechanic and artisan of yesterday; that it is not just to evict, without compensation, a tenant (if, as is alleged, the Church has all along been only the tenant of the nation), a tenant of such long standing, a tenant that has expended within the present century many millions of money in improving the landlord's property; that it is not just to seize upon the churches which Churchmen have built, rebuilt, and restored at a cost of some thirty millions within the last forty years, and reckon them up among the assets of the great Church bankruptcy sale, which the nation is asked to carry out; that it is not just to deprive the poor of their right to free religion and free entrance into their own parish church. I think we have a case here on grounds of justice and equity that is worth stating, and we mean to state it.

A wrong to the Country, to the Poor, and to Posterity.

And as regards the question of profit and loss, the question whether the Nation, whether the working classes will gain or lose most by disestablishment and disendowment, here, too, our case is strong. On the one side of the account we place a certain sum of money, greatly exaggerated in amount, greatly to be discounted, not only by payment of life interests, but by the heavy cost of providing State education to replace those voluntary schools which Churchmen will be no longer able to maintain, and by the building everywhere of Board school-rooms to replace those now owned by Church managers, which they are not going in that case to make a present of to the State, and which not even the coolest of liberators has yet claimed to be property belonging to the State. We admit, however, when all these deductions have been made there will remain a balance more or less large to the State. Then let us set against that the material loss to the working classes of all their share in the incomes of the clergy—how large will never be known until that overflowing source of kindly and liberal help shall have been dried up—the decay and perishing of those charitable and philanthropic agencies in each parish of which the parson is for the most part the promoter, the mainspring, and the liberal supporter, and all those larger charities now mainly supported by Churchmen which make the Established Church the largest philanthropic institution in the country, and from which the money of Churchmen, suddenly called on to supply some three or four millions a year for the support of their ministers, must, in large measure, and for long while, be withdrawn. Put all these together on the debtor side of the account, and the mere money balance to the working man's credit may not prove so large as he is told it will be. Put next to this the moral loss to the State of three or four millions a year devoted now to the moral and religious training of her citizens, which has been ridiculously described as

"a benefit to one sect alone," but which is obviously a vast benefit to the entire nation. Set next to this the loss to the parishioners, and especially to the poor parishioner, of all religious ministrations and all Church privileges, save those he pays for. Put the handing over of his old parish church to a committee of ratepayers, of whom he not being a ratepayer cannot be one, to be kept up, no one exactly knows how, certainly not as heretofore by the free gifts of Churchmen, who will not care to contribute to the maintenance of a parish hall, which may be a concert-room to-day and a polling place to-morrow, to be sold, to be even pulled down and the materials carted away, if this committee shall so determine; put the removal from the midst of every parish of the only property in it charged with duties on the performance of which its enjoyment is conditioned, and the only person in many a village who is independent of squire and peer and people—an independence which makes the Church of England the true home and shelter of religious freedom. Set, in short, on one side the little money that the working man may gain, and on the other side all the material and moral losses he must sustain by disestablishment and disendowment; show him, in short, that it is not the parson but himself and his children after him that he is disendowing and disinheriting, and he may not be so ready as some think to sell his birthright and theirs, even for a larger mess of pottage than that which is offered him in its stead.

The Published Scheme for Disestablishment.

But before informing the electorate it is important that Churchmen should thoroughly inform themselves; that they should learn what disestablishment and disendowment practically mean. Disestablishment and disendowment are phrases, and may mean a great deal or very little, according as men interpret them. And for this reason they are just now very

convenient phrases for slippery politicians, who can proclaim their adhesion to the phrase and leave in convenient obscurity its practical meaning. But what we want to get at, and what the country wants to get at, is, not the *words* disestablishment and disendowment, but the real actual *facts* of disestablishment and disendowment in this country as they are to be. Now, on this point our adversaries have given us very full and very precise information. They tell us very plainly what they mean by these words; and I recommend therefore all Churchmen to study their programme very carefully. It is not very pleasant reading, but it is highly instructive, and for this reason—*that if ever disestablishment is carried out in this country it will be on those lines and no other, and that for two good and sufficient reasons.* First; that the party which may be strong enough to carry it will certainly be strong enough to carry it on their own lines. I remember, if others have forgotten, the history of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. I remember how the scruples of many were quieted by assurances (not, I am bound to say, from the author of the measure, but from many of its advocates), that if only its principle were adopted there was room for any amount of concession and compromise as to its details; and I remember how, when its principle was adopted, the concessions and compromises were sent upon a journey to Jupiter. As it was then, so will it be again, and so our assailants are telling us with a frankly cynical candour. Mr. Gladstone, in his recent utterance on this subject, which, if it has all the solemnity and impressiveness, has also, I venture to think, a little of the ambiguity of the ancient oracle, tells us that if ever it is effected it will be with "a large regard to equity and liberality." Well, I turn to the programme of those who, if ever it is done, will have the doing of it, and I find that they give by anticipation a flat denial to Mr. Gladstone's prophecy. They say that disestablishment is to be effected on the principle of "justice to the nation and *not* of generosity to the Church," and certainly they are as good as their word.

Whether there is or is not equity in their proposals, liberality there is none, and they themselves disclaim it. Secondly; there is another reason why we should regard this programme as the real and practical form which disestablishment must take if it ever comes to pass—namely, that it professes to be the only too "scrupulous" and "tender" application of the great principles of justice and of religious equality on which it is founded, and that it cannot therefore be materially altered without departing from those principles.

The Desecrating of Cathedrals and Parish Churches.

Let us test this by just one instance. I pass by all those money considerations about which we Churchmen alone are supposed to care, and respecting which we are expected to display that lofty and high-toned indifference which men so easily counsel when dealing with other men's goods. I do not dwell on the harsh and ungenerous treatment of the clergy, as regards their life interests, a point on which, without the ultimate loss of a single shilling, the State might easily afford to be generous. I pass by what I cannot but describe as the really impudent attempt to force upon us a new system of State-made Congregationalism foreign to our ecclesiastical system, with the all-but avowed desire of breaking up the Church into "indefinite groups," and in the avowed hope that this may produce a crop of future schisms. I pass by these and other proposals, marked one and all by the same spirit of rancorous hate to the Church, not as an establishment, but as a religious institution, calculated, one and all, with malignant ingenuity to hinder her work and weaken her efficiency as a religious body after her disestablishment. I pass by these, and I fix upon one, and one only. I take from this programme the mode in which it is proposed to deal with our cathedrals and older parish churches, some 10,000 in number, and I ask you to note what religious equality means as regards these. They are all to be seized

on by the State as national property, and they are then to be all secularised. The cathedrals are to be so at once. They are to become "national monuments" (whatever that may mean), and to be used for religious and also for secular uses under the control of Parliament. And as regards our older parish churches, these are to be vested in committees of ratepayers, to be used as they please without any reservation for religious uses. Now I need not point out to you that a place no longer set apart for religious worship only, and which may at any time be used for any secular purpose, is in principle and to all intents and purposes secularized. But in this case the secularizing would certainly and speedily become a fact. For even if these ratepayers' committees were everywhere willing to reserve the churches for religious purposes only, they would not be long allowed to do so. How long do you suppose that a Parliament which was itself putting cathedrals to secular purposes would allow these parochial committees to refuse the use of like national property for like purposes? Such a power would not be left them for five years. The first half dozen refusals would raise a cry from the Secularist, for the tearing away of this "last rag" of intolerance and religious ascendency which would only be too willingly listened to, and the parish churches would follow suit with the cathedrals. And this the authors of this programme very well know, though just now it does not suit them to say it. Now, I will not ask how the nation would be better served by such a proceeding. I will not stop to ask whether the general sentiment of religious reverence would not receive from it a deep and lasting injury; but I will only say this—it is a certain fact that the doing of this thing would cause the most exquisite pain to all Churchmen, that through the heart of every Church man and woman in the country there would run at the sight of it a thrill of pain and indignation far keener than any that could be caused by the loss of their endowments; and our assailants know this. Now, I ask them, why do you do this? Why do you propose to inflict this deep and painful wound upon the hearts

of your fellow citizens? Is it because you hate them and their Church, and that you seek to wound them for the mere wounding sake? You would indignantly deny the imputation. You would tell us, "We are bound to do this on principle; the great and sacred principle of religious equality compels us to do it. We must admit to the use of these national edifices all or none." The plea is on their principles perfectly valid. The State, we are told, has no right and no competence to distinguish between the relative worth of different religions. Neither, of course, has it the right nor the competence to distinguish between the relative worth of religion and secularism. The ratepayer who claims the use of the cathedral for a secular purpose has exactly the same right with the ratepayer who claims it for a religious one. The politician who wishes to harangue his constituents, the social democrat who finds the use of the street inconvenient or insufficient, would have just the same right to avail himself of the area of St. Paul's for his assembly that the Nonconformist minister would have to avail himself of it for his. To grant it to the Nonconformist and refuse it to the Politician would be manifestly as unjust as it would be to grant it to the Churchman and refuse it to the Nonconformist. Mr. Bradlaugh on this principle has as good a right to the use of the pulpit of Westminster Abbey as Mr. Newman Hall or Mr. Parker. This is only justice, and depend upon it it is justice which would be promptly claimed and as promptly conceded. The Secularist wing of the Liberationists you may be very sure are not going to let their religious allies march into our churches and then close the doors in their faces. And if, on the other hand, I am told that, the Cathedrals being National property, Parliament would have the right to regulate the use of them as it pleased, and that no one would have any claim of right to their use, then, I ask, what becomes of the great argument that, all Church property being National property, the State has no right to confine its use to one sect? If the State has the right to give the use of its property to some

and not to all, it has just the same right to give it to one only and not to some. I give the Liberationist, then, the choice of this dilemma. Either the State has or it has not the right to make a choice among rival claimants for the use of its property. If it has, then there is no injustice in its giving it to or leaving it with its present possessors. If it has not, then the Secularist and the infidel are unjustly treated if they are denied their share of it. We know already which of these alternatives the Liberationist accepts and must accept, and we know, too, that he does not shrink from its logical consequences.

Disestablishment carried into Detail.

There are, of course, a few practical difficulties of detail in carrying it out. The little difficulty, for instance, for Parliament to decide, without exercising any "State control over religion," in what order and on what principle all the 172 sects in London, to say nothing of the politicians, secularists, and infidel lecturers, are to have their turn in using St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. Is it to be first come first served, with a scramble and free fight at the doors? Or is it to be by payment from the highest bidder? Or is it to be by ballot, as admission is given to the gallery of the House of Commons? There is, again, the little "unconsidered trifle" of the Communion plate. We Churchmen have, you know, a weak feeling of reverence for this, which in the eyes of a large number of Liberators is a stupid superstition. Are these, then, to be deprived of their just and equal share of this portion of the loot they would have helped to win? and, if not, how are they to obtain it? Is it to be placed in the British Museum as a glorious trophy of disestablishment, or sold by auction, or sent to the melting-pot? Something of this kind must clearly be done with it on the sacred principles of religious equality. To give it to us would be "generosity to the Church," and not "justice to the nation;" to reserve it for those sects which use

sacraments would be concurrent endowment; and so it, too, must in some way or other be put to secular uses. So that, in short, the sacred principle of religious equality would before long be the only sacred thing left in our churches. These latter points, however, are only questions of detail, more especially that of the Church plate, for directing their attention to which I hope the Liberationists will be duly grateful to me. What I have wanted to show you is how inevitably, on the principles laid down by our assailants, all that they propose must come to pass, and a little more besides, and so to show you how fond and foolish are the dreams of some men that disestablishment and disendowment can be carried out on *their* principles or in any other way than that proposed.

The Duty of Churchmen to Combine and Act at once.

There remains but one other question—as to the duties of Churchmen in the present crisis. They have not only to inform the electorate, they are themselves electors, and, as such, have a very solemn duty to discharge to Church and State. There is much that I could say on this point; nevertheless, I shall say but very little, because I am anxious, as your chairman, to keep well within the limits of our wise rule against the introduction of party politics into our discussions here. I will venture, then, only to say this much—that, speaking for myself and myself only, I regard the question whether the Church of England shall or shall not be maintained as the National Church as involving issues far more momentous, far wider and further reaching, than the questions whether this or that party should be in or out of office. If any Churchman think otherwise, if he either desire disestablishment, or if, though not desiring it, he honestly believes that it is better for the country that the Church should be distablished and disendowed than that his party should be out of office, he will, of course, act according to his conscientious convictions. I do not envy his

responsibility; I am thankful I do not share it. One thing more, and one only, I have to say on this matter. If any weak-kneed Churchman, now hesitating between his party and his Church, is trying to persuade himself that this question will not come on in this Parliament, and therefore that for this once he may indulge his political preferences and let the Church take her chance for the next elections, let him lay to heart the clear warnings that have been given us lately on this point. We have been plainly and honestly told of late, by more than one candidate for Parliament, that should Mr. Gladstone's departure from Parliamentary life take place during this session the question will be assuredly raised. I respect the rough honesty of such a candidate. He reminds me of a certain rough man long ago who, being on bad terms with his brother, was heard to say, "The days of mourning for my father are at hand, then will I kill my brother." And, though the Church has not Jacob's reason for flight, though she has not cheated this Esau of either birthright or blessing, nay, though in this case it is Esau who is seeking to deprive his brother of both, still, we may do well to note what we hear him say, and not to be too sure that he may not try to keep his word. At any rate, it seems to me that speculations as to the actions of a new Parliament are a perilously narrow basis on which to rest the future of our Church, and that the simpler and the straighter course is, in this as in other matters, the safer one.

The relative weight of the forces on either side considered.

I think, too, that this is the course into which the Church is being rapidly forced. The Church of England is naturally of no political party. I have said before, and I say here again, the Church of Christ has no politics; the Establishment may easily have too much. But, I see plainly enough that there is a party rising in this country, a new but

a very powerful one, and that is the Church herself. I see that the violent pressure of her enemies on all sides is rapidly moulding the Church into one great party, the members of which shall have one watchward and one only—"We are Churchmen first and politicians after. We will not fail to use our electoral privileges against those, of whatever party, who seek to injure an institution which is doing so great a work for the country and for God." When that attitude shall have been finally taken by the Church—and it is being rapidly taken—there will be formed in the country a party the strength of which statesmen have not yet calculated, but with which they may yet have to reckon. I say this in no boastful spirit, in no lightness of heart. We Churchmen have no love for such strife as is now being forced upon us. We dread the effect which our engaging in it may have upon the higher work to which, if we were allowed to do so, we would fain give all our thoughts and all our efforts. But we are not allowed to do so. Sorely against our will, we are compelled to interrupt the building of the walls of our Zion in order to man them for her defence. The issues of that contest no man can forecast. The forces arrayed against us are undoubtedly many and powerful—the fierce hate of atheism in strange and ominous alliance with the sincerity of deep religious conviction; sectarian and social jealousy, with its misleading but popular cry of religious and social equality; the attractive power of a great money bribe held steadily before the eyes of all, and specially pressed upon the poorer classes; the ambition of politicians eager to win place and power by dazzling promises which the wealth of the Church they declare will enable them to fulfil; the temptation to statesmen to replenish a failing exchequer by seizing upon a fund which lies so conveniently to their hand. All these are against us, and I do not underrate their strength. On the other hand, there are on our side the love of English Churchmen for their Church, deepening, as it will deepen with each fresh assault

upon her; the increasing dread on the part of all religious men of those irreligious and anti-religious forces which are being arrayed against her, the very fact of whose bitter hostility shows that not religion but infidelity may in the end be the gainer by her overthrow; the reckless havoc of the schemes proposed for her destruction; the growing knowledge of the spiritual needs of our great masses, and therefore the conviction of the folly and wickedness of at once arresting and paralyzing for generations to come the great work of the largest and most successful organization we possess for the supply of those needs —these are on our side, and on it, too, is that quiet force of sober and serious opinion, which though it is not easily stirred or roused, though it does not cry aloud and utter its voice at every turn in the streets, yet that when it is stirred has so often spoken with so resolute and often so decisive a voice. These are the forces that make for our cause; and if there be but time for them to tell, if the fate of our Church, as of other institutions, be not decided by some wave of popular impulse, some impatient demand of popular need, if the loosely-packed cargo of public feeling and sentiment does not suddenly lurch over to one side in the gust of some passing storm, I should have confidence in the result. I have said that I have not implicit confidence in the absolute wisdom of the English or of any people; nevertheless I have large confidence in two qualities that do honourably distinguish them—their deep sense of justice, their practical common sense. I cannot but hope, therefore, that the English people, in its calmer moments, when the whole case of the English Church has been fully before them, will think once, twice, thrice before they cast away the blessings she gives them for the vague promises of very doubtful blessings that are to come in her place. I believe that there is still in the heart of the nation left some reverence for the past, some love of old ways and old institutions, not merely because they are old but because their very age proves their strength and worth, and be-

cause that age is neither senile nor decrepid but vigorous and strong as ever, stronger and more vigorous than ever for the service of the nation. I believe that they will hesitate to change the old historical Church of England for the brand new State-made contrivances with which it is proposed to replace her. I do, therefore, trust and hope that at the last, when all the issues of this great contest are fully and fairly before them, their answer will be given in the spirit of those noble lines in which a great English clergyman recorded his esteem and love for one of the noblest of English statesmen—

" Often have I seen
" A stripling tree all foliage and all green,
" But not a hope of grateful soothing shade,
" Its empty strength in fluttering leaves displayed.
" Give me the solid trunk, the aged stem
" That rears aloft its glorious diadem;
" That through long years of battle or of storm
" Has striven whole forests round it to reform;
" That still through lightning flash and thunderstroke,
" Retains his vital sap and heart of oak.
" Such gallant tree for me shall ever stand
" A great rock's shadow in a weary land."

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THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND THE

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

A PAPER COMPILED FROM

VARIOUS SOURCES AND OFFICIAL REPORTS.

BY THE

REV. CHARLES A. WELLS, B.A.

ORGANIZING SECRETARY, CHURCH DEFENCE INSTITUTION.

THIRD EDITION.

REVISED AND ENLARGED WITH THE MOST RECENT STATISTICS ISSUED BY THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Introductory slide.*

The object of this pamphlet, which may be used as a lecture with illustrative views, is (1) to trace the growth of education in this country from the earliest times, and to show the part the Church has taken therein; and (2) to point out how, amid difficult circumstances, the Church of England is witnessing in the Nineteenth Century to her care for the highest welfare of the people. The hope entertained by the author is that his compilation, culled from various historical authorities and official statistics, may vindicate our National Church from aspersions frequently cast upon her character both in the past and in the present. For some twelve centuries, at least, the Church of England has been labouring in this work as the circumstances of the day permitted. It may not be said that she has done all that could, or ought to, have been done, but without question all the work done has been hers, until, at least, quite modern times: and the debt due to the Church of England by the people of England is consequently one which can never be repaid. Moreover, the education provided has been perfect in kind and intention; it aimed, that is, at furnishing the whole man—body, intellect, and spirit—and sought to make of him not only a good citizen of earth, but also of heaven.

* The side-headings in this type give the title of pictures which illustrate the particular section opposite to which they stand.

List of Authorities Consulted.

Publications of S.P.C.K. and National Society.
"How we Got the Bible" ... ... *Bagster*).
Hunt's "English Church in the Middle Ages" ... (*Longmans*).
Johnson's "Normans in Europe" ... ... „
Gibson's "Northumbrian Saints" ... ... (*S.P.C.K.*).
Bohn's "Bede's Eclesiastical History" ... ... (*Bell and Sons*).
Erskine Clarke's Parish Magazine ... ... (*Wells Gardner*).
The English Language ... ... (*Nelson and Son*)
Craik's "State and Education" ... ... (*Macmillan*).
Blunt's Household Theology ... ...
Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor (1809).
Reports of Education Department.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

PART I.

It is now 1200 years since, according to Bede, on a winter's night there lay asleep in the stable of the famous Abbey of Whitby a certain poor Anglo-Saxon cowherd. Sad and dispirited he had left the feast, where his comrades were amusing themselves with the simple rhymes of those early days. Cœdmon could not sing; and when he saw the harp being passed towards him, he arose from the board and went out to the stable. His soul was sad within him; and as he lay in the cow-shed, suddenly there shone around him a heavenly glory, and in the midst of the glory there appeared One who had been cradled in a stable 600 years before. **Whitby**

"Sing Cœdmon," said He, "sing some song for Me." "I cannot sing," was the sorrowful reply. "Yet," said He, "thou shalt sing for Me.' "What shall I sing?" "Sing the beginning of created things." And as he listened a divine power came over him, and words he had never heard before arose in his mind. (*Bede*, iv., 24.)

Bede recounts the above story, and tells us that Cœdmon received from God in a vision the power of sacred song. The first English book known to have been written in England is Cœdmon's "Poem." (*Engl. Lang.*, p. 29.)

In the year 628 there was born of noble English family Benedict Biscop, a man who never had an enemy in the world. About forty years after we find him returning from abroad with Archbishop Theodore, and taking over for a time the govern- **St. Augustine's, Canterbury.**

ment of the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, which St. Augustine had founded seventy years before. Benedict found a sad dearth of literature at Canterbury, and paid no less than five visits to the continent, returning each time with no inconsiderable number of books on various branches of sacred literature. At length this great book-hunter went northward to Jarrow and Wearmouth, and there deposited his treasures. After Benedict had gone, Hadrian became Abbot of the monastery at Canterbury, and he, with the support and assistance of Archbishop Theodore, who was well instructed both in sacred and secular literature, gathered round him a crowd of disciples, to whom, together with the books of Holy Writ, he also taught the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. Among the most famous pupils were Albinus, who furnished Bede with the history of the county of Kent, and Aldhelm, who became Bishop of Sherborne and translated the Scriptures, etc., and may fairly be called the "Bede" of Wessex. (*Gibson*, p. 93; *Bede*, iv., 2.)

The Ven. Bede's Tomb.

It was to the care of Benedict Biscop that Bede was handed over when he was but seven years old. After leaving Wearmouth Bede made his home at Jarrow; there he laboured and there he died. "Spending all my life," is his account of himself, "in that monastery, I wholly applied myself to the study of the SS., and amidst the observance of regular discipline and the daily care of singing in the church, I always delighted in learning, teaching and writing. From the time I was ordained priest up to my fifty-ninth year (when the "Ecclesiastical History" was finished) I made it my business for the use of me and mine to compile commentaries upon the sacred Scriptures. I am my own secretary. I make my own notes. I am my own librarian." After two months' suffering the Ven. Bede died at Ascensiontide, A.D. 735, at the age of sixty-three. "He daily instructed us," writes one of his scholars, "and used to say,—I do not want my boys to read a lie and to work to no purpose after I am gone. Learn as quickly as you can; for I know not how long I may be with you."

It is a matter of lasting regret that we have no full account of the labours of Archbishop Egbert, of York, A.D. 732-766. But

we do know something of the activity of his fertile pen, and of the discipline he restored throughout his great diocese. The work, however, on which his claim to lasting gratitude rests, is the foundation of the famous school at York, in which was carried on the work which Bede had begun, rekindling in the west the flame of learning just at the moment it was expiring in France and Ireland. Under Egbert and his successor, Albert, the Northumbrian Church became famous for learning, and the Archbishop's school the most notable centre of education in Western Christendom. To Archbishop Albert belongs the honour of collecting the splendid library, which in the eighth century is spoken of as "The Flower of Britain."—Albert's schoolmaster was Alcuin, who, after the Archbishop's death, resided at the Court of the Emperor Charlemagne, and helped him in the promotion and development of learning on the continent. It was at York that Alcuin himself had been trained, and so this school became the source of light to other lands.

S. Mary's Abbey, York.

Charlemagne was the foremost patron of literature in Europe, though he himself never succeeded in learning to write. He pressed Alcuin to take charge of the Palatine School, and for eight years (A.D. 782-790) Alcuin was busily engaged in teaching, writing, revising books for educational and ecclesiastical uses, organizing schools on the model of the Palatine School, by all which means he hoped to carry out the Emperor's design of restoring the knowledge of the *sacred languages* and the text of the Bible and Service books. According to an ancient MS., discovered in 1838 in Worcester Cathedral library (the original being of the twelfth century), Alcuin was a translator of the Bible. The MS. runs somewhat in this fashion : "Alcuin was a scholar, and translated the books. Through these were taught our people in English. These Bishops preached in Christendom. These taught our people in English." (Here follows a list.) "Their light was not dark, but it burned beautifully.'

Worcester Cathedral

Alfred the Great, to whose memory there was not long since erected a statue in the Market Place of Wantage, now comes before us. Cœdmon, Bede and Alcuin were Northumbrians. When, by the action of the Danes, literature was driven out

Alfred the Great.

of the north, it found shelter amongst the people of Wessex. About 880 A.D. Alfred the Great made English a classical tongue. This noble king both wrote books and set up schools; he collected also a band of learned men, English and foreign, to help him in his work. He brought Plegmund from Mercia, Asser from Wales, Grimbold and others from beyond the sea. He wished every youth within his kingdom to learn to read English well, and those who hoped for promotion Latin also.

Wantage School Gateway

A school for young noblemen was set up in the precincts of the palace, and education was a leading feature in the monastery at Athelney. Wantage still has a grammar school bearing the name of this great king; the gateway of the senior boy's room is of Norman date. King Alfred himself translated books likely to be useful to his people, and in all probability began the compilation of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." (*Hunt*, p. 39.)

Glastonbury Abbey.

The history of Glastonbury Abbey would of itself furnish no imperfect sketch of the progress of Christianity in England from the very earliest days down to the murder of the aged Abbot Whiting, in the reign of Henry VIII. At the period we have reached, Glastonbury had just been rebuilt on a magnificent scale by the great Archbishop and statesman Dunstan (A.D. 960-988), who had formerly been Abbot of Glastonbury. The Canons of Dunstan's Primacy prove his endeavour to make the clergy efficient educators of the people. Priests were to teach their own scholars, and not to draw away scholars from other districts. The people were to be also instructed by the clergy in handicrafts. The Archbishop himself excelled in these, and gave lessons in them, notably in the illumination of manuscripts. (*Hunt*, pp. 49-53.)

The Church of St. Cross, Winchester.

It was during Dunstan's time that we find the rule of St. Benedict producing great reforms and re-kindling the torch of learning in the monastic houses. The troubles of the times had not allowed King Alfred's work to continue without interruption, but with Dunstan a new revival came. Famous houses were planted at Winchester, Ramsey, and in other parts of the country. The work of teaching was left to the monks (regulars); the parochial clergy (seculars) had indeed but little learning and though they were nominally the instructors of youth, no boy acquired an

knowledge worthy of the name until he was admitted into the school of the monastery. Alfred had taught men that education should be carried on in the language of the people, and this lesson was further enforced towards the end of the tenth century by Ælfric "the Grammarian." Ælfric took much interest in promoting education both at Cerne and Ensham, of which places he was Abbot. Some of his writings are of special interest to English Churchmen as showing to what extent the doctrines of the Church of England and the Church of Rome differed in days before the Norman Conquest.

The monasteries at the beginning of the tenth century supplied the most important social machinery of the times. The monks were the best agriculturists of the day and the pioneers of civilization. Settling in some unreclaimed spot, they made a clearing in the forest and tilled the land, whilst the monastery formed a nucleus round which the farmers might settle. It thus became the school for the children, the almshouse for the poor, the hospital for the sick, the inn for the traveller. Nor was this all. Here alone were any remains of the ancient classics or Latin fathers preserved; here alone the pursuits of learning and of the fine arts were followed. Here church-music, the writing and illumination of missals, bell-founding and organ-building were practised. Here lastly lived the chroniclers to whom we owe nearly all we know of those days.

Croyland Abbey.

It was chiefly through their agency that such literary intercourse as then existed was maintained. In the absence of printing, and owing to the scarcity of MSS., the only way of acquiring knowledge was then, as in still earlier days, to sit at the feet of some great scholar. Hence aspirants after learning wandered over Europe from monastery to monastery, from school to school, and in this way to a large extent Europe and its peoples were gradually drawn together. (*Johnson*, p. 108.)

[The Abbot of Croyland, in the reign of William the Conqueror, was the famous Ingulphus. He thus records the education of his youth :—"I, Ingulphus, a humble servant of God, born of English parents in the most beautiful city of London, for to attain to learning was first put to Westminster, and after to study at Oxford."]

Battle Abbey.

The times succeeding the Norman victory at Senlac were full of trouble. William did not conquer the country when he won the first great battle, but had for some years to come to deal with insurrections of greater or less significance. During the reigns of the Norman kings, education could make little or no progress; but when English and Norman began to settle down, and to form one nation, we find the Church again taking the lead in providing instruction for all. Archbishop Theobald (A.D. 1139-1162), the immediate predecessor of Thomas à Becket, following King Alfred's system, gathered around him a band of scholars from all parts of Europe. It was by this Archbishop that the study of law was introduced into England. The "Institutes" of Justinian had lately been discovered and (through Theobald's influence) they became the foundation of the study of law. It was at this period that the great universities took a leading part in the work of education. The tutors and professors were almost in all cases taken from the clergy. "The work of the Universities," says Mr. Miller, in a pamphlet published by the S.P.C.K., "is well known; but it must not be supposed that they bore the whole, or even the largest share in the cause of education." . . . . "With a view both to private instruction and the education for the nation at large, schools were attached to the monasteries and the cathedral chapters. To the larger of these establishments there were two or three schools attached of different grades, and to these came the children and youths from the surrounding districts. In these schools, not only were the children of the baron, the knight and the squire to be found, but the sons of the yeoman and agriculturist as well. It is a striking feature of those times that the sons of the yeoman were often better educated than the sons of the baron or knight; for the sons of the latter were generally removed from school at an early age to learn the art of war, while the children of the former continued at school till they were growing into manhood."

Malmesbury Abbey.

Of the religious orders, the Cistertian and Benedictine may be considered the chief. Of the Cistertians, we read in Giraldus Cambrensis ("Spec. Ecc.," ii., c. 34), they would "seek out desert places, and shunning the haunts and hum of crowds

would earn their daily bread by manual labour. They preferred uninhabited solitudes, and seemed to bring back to mens' eyes the primitive life and ancient discipline of monastic religion; its poverty, its parsimony in food, the roughness and meanness of its dress, its abstinence and austerities." The Benedictines, on the other hand, adopted a different line. "They were as laborious in intellectual pursuits as the Cistertians in agriculture." [Mention is made of a school attached to the priory of St. John at Brecon in a charter of Mahel, Earl of Hereford, circ. 1165.] The monastery once more supplied the place of an inn, club, and newspaper. It was also a place for the safe custody of deeds and literary work; and so we are not surprised to find Giraldus Cambrensis depositing his writings at Strata Florida before he started for Rome. (*St. David's Dioc. Hist.*, p. 81-2.)

For schools in the present usage of the word we must still wait many centuries. It is probable that not until some time after the Re-Formation were there schools adapted to or required by the wants of the working classes, but, from the very first, education of some kind was afforded to those who sought it at the monasteries. Moreover, that some system existed for this purpose at Westminster, Southwark, Smithfield and Aldgate, is evident from Stow's "Survey of London" (vol. i., cxi., p. 102, London, 1753). "In the reigns of King Stephen and of Henry II. there were in London three principal churches which had famous schools. . . . notable and renowned for knowledge in philosophy; and there were other inferior schools also." We are not told, however, to which parishes they belonged.

Southwark, St. Saviour's Church.

According to the provisions of the third Lateran Council, held in 1176, at which four English Bishops were present, it was decreed that "every cathedral-church should have its schoolmaster to teach poor scholars and others, as had been accustomed." Of course "poor" must not be taken to mean the *labouring classes* of that day.

St. David's Cathedral with School attached.

Schools of this kind had been established some years before in St. Paul's Cathedral; in the Collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand; at Bow Church, Cheapside; at St. Dunstan's in the East; and at the Hospital of St. Anthony. But of their continuance or

Window in St. Dunstan's in the East.

success, we have hardly any information. That which continued the longest, the Hospital of St. Anthony in Broad Street Ward of the City of London, was the school in which Sir Thos. More was educated. This school was in existence in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but all such institutions were chiefly designed for the children of persons engaged in trade.

To retrace our steps a little. The first State paper written in English is the Proclamation issued by King Henry III. in 1258.

The Houses of Parliament

One of the results of the Baron's War was to give a new constitution to the council of the nation. In 1265 Leicester's Parliament contained representatives of cities and boroughs sitting side by side with Barons, Prelates and Knights of the shire. This association of classes welded all sections of the nation closely together, and the next king bore the English name of Edward, and called himself an Englishman. (*Engl. Lang.*, p. 23, sqq.)

Canterbury Pilgrims.

We now come to the consolidation of our language. The use of English was revived in Law Courts in 1362; and in schools in 1385. In 1365 the Lord Chancellor opened Parliament in an English speech.

The authoritative restoration of English as the language of public business in the Law Courts and Schools marks an important stage in the history of education in this country. The fact was a public admission that English had made out a claim to be regarded as the national speech.

It was no doubt seen to be absurd that in Law Courts and Schools the proceedings were conducted in such a way as to be unintelligible to the mass of the people. The writers of the day adopted the speech of London, the seat of the Court and the Capital, as being the standard of the purest English. We may instance Sir John Mandeville, whose "Travels in the East" is our oldest book in modern English Prose; William Langland, who was author of "Piers the Plowman's Vision:" John Wycliffe, who translated the Bible: John Gower, who wrote moral tales in verse: and Geoffrey Chaucer, who contributed the "Canterbury Tales." Chaucer was our first great English poet. His connection with the Court undoubtedly helped him, from the time when, at sixteen years of age, he was the Duchess of Clarence's page, to that when, after serving as a diplomatist abroad, he became a member of Parliament.

It was about this time that William of Wykeham, who was a munificent patron of learning, founded Winchester College (A.D. 1382), and supplemented this his first work by the foundation, four years later, of New College, Oxford, whither his Winchester scholars were to proceed in pursuit of the higher branches of learning. His plan worked so well that other benevolent men were tempted to imitate his example; and so schools (which have now developed into great Public Schools) were established in close connection with colleges at the two great Universities.

New College, Oxford.

In the next century King Henry VI. founded Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. It must not, of course, be supposed that these foundations attained their present magnitude in a few years. Not until after the Re-Formation had obliterated the religious houses was the need of schools felt. When the monasteries were dissolved, school, hospital and inn together disappeared. To meet the requirements of the day, schools and colleges would naturally spring up, unless, indeed, the people of England had been content to relapse into a state of ignorance and paganism.

King's College, Cambridge.

Meanwhile the introduction of printing into England is an event not easy to over-estimate in connection with education. It brought about a revolution not only of methods of study, but of modes of thought. The Re-Formation itself was largely due, humanly speaking, to this discovery. Hitherto all books were manuscript, and had been copied with pen and ink at immense labour: now just when Wycliffe's translation of the Scriptures had given people a keen appetite for the Word of God in their mother-tongue, the old slow process of the writing by hand of every work was superseded, and in its place there came that by which copies of books could be multiplied at a rate and cost hitherto altogether unthought of.

Caxton Printing Press.

Dean Colet's School (A.D. 1512) was the first which provided sound learning for boys of a station next below that for which the schools previously mentioned were particularly designed. "Dean Colet was a great friend of Sir Thos. More and also of Erasmus, and these men fostered in every way the growth of education. Their companionship resulted in the formation of a company of learned men under the patronage of Wolsey, who were

Dean Colet's School.

reinforced from time to time by scholars from the Continent." (cf. Lane's "Illustrated Notes.") We learn from Stow's "Survey" that "The pious founder dedicated this school to the child JESUS, as the great and compassionate patron of children here to be educated; so that the name of the School is JESUS SCHOOL, but the saint hath robbed his Master of the title."

The original school was destroyed in the fire of London. It was rebuilt, and for two centuries occupied a conspicuous place in St. Paul's Churchyard. In very recent times it has been removed to West Kensington.

Christ Church, Oxford.

Passing on a few years in the sixteenth century, we find Cardinal Wolsey, realizing the need the age had of education, and with the revenues of St. Frideswide's, a suppressed monastery, endowing Christ Church, Oxford.

Christ's Hospital.

Christ's Hospital, for the education of 400 children, was founded in 1552, at the prompting of good Bishop Ridley, by Edward VI., who appropriated the revenues of the Grey Friars' Monastery, near Newgate, to that charitable use. Some twenty other schools were also founded by this young King, but they were not intended for children of artisans, much less for those of labourers, and they fell far short of what could be called a system of National Education.

Reading chained Bible in St. Paul's.

We must not forget, in consideration of this subject, that important instruction was furnished by the Re-Formers, and after the darkness which had prevailed, it was no trifling help to have (1) a Bible fixed on a stand in every church, that all might read, or hear read; (2) a commentary or paraphrase on the Gospels in the the same place; (3) liberty to possess a Bible at home; (4) texts of Scripture in large letters written up in churches; (5) common prayer in the mother tongue; (6) homilies and godly books in the language of the people freely dispersed. The hope encouraged in the preamble of the Bill of 1539, "That the religious houses should be converted to better use, that God's word might be better set forth, and children brought up in learning, etc.," was indeed doomed to disappointment. Archbishop Cranmer had intended that Grammar-schools should be founded in every shire in England, but it was not until a century afterwards that such schools began to be multi-

plied, and the middle classes were enabled to obtain instruction for their children near home.

Queen Elizabeth's School, Horsleydown.

Queen Elizabeth's School, at Horselydown, was founded by the Queen from monastic properties, as also was St. Peter's College, Westminster, a school for 40 scholars. The Merchant Taylors' School, for 250 boys (1561), "Richard Hills, Master of the Company, giving £500 towards the purchase of a house called *The Manor of Rose*, sometime the Duke of Buckingham's," (recently moved from Suffolk Lane, E.C., to the Charterhouse), and the Mercers' School, for 25 scholars, were of private foundation in this reign. The Mercers' Company bought the property from the Crown in 1538, but the origin of the school is of such early date as to be lost in antiquity. The old school in College Hill is now pulled down.

The Mercers' School.

The Charterhouse.

The Charterhouse School was originally the monastery of the Carthusian Order, founded in the fourteenth century. At the dissolution of the Order the monastery became the property of the King's groom; and afterwards being in the market, it eventually passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Sutton, who, in 1600, gave £13,000 for it, and turned it into a school for 40 boys, and an almshouse for 80 gentlemen of crippled fortunes. But the number of Schools founded by the Tudors, with the endowments bestowed upon them, bear but a small proportion to those which were lost to the Church and Education at the dissolution of the monasteries. A few schools were founded during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. by private individuals or city companies; and the number no doubt would have been greater had the mind of the nation been less disturbed by religious and civil controversy.

PART II.

After the restoration of Charles II. the churches naturally demanded the first attention. When they had been put in order the question of education was at once taken in hand, and that in no niggardly spirit. (*Miller's Education Pamphlet.*)

Between the days of Elizabeth and of Charles II., as we have intimated, little had been possible, but in 1663 a Mr. Nedham set forth a plan by which parish clerks should be required to teach (under the clergy) all the children of the poor, the clerks being paid by an allowance from a fund raised for the purpose. This teaching was carried on on Saturdays to prepare the children for the morrow. Archbishop Tenison's school dates back to this time.

Archbishop Tenison's school.

Then in the year 1670, the Rev. Thomas Gouge (rector of St. Sepulchre's, London) actively promoted the establishment of a society in London for the supply of books in the Principality of Wales, work in which he was warmly supported also by Archbishop Tenison.

In the parochial schools started by Mr. Gouge *secular* instruction was carried on in English. The mistake, if mistake it was, was probably designed to remove the barrier which shut out the Welsh people from participation in the wealth of English literature.

But the *religious* education was in the vernacular, and this largely contributed to settle the predominant language of the future.

In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded by Francis, Lord Guildford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Bart., Sergeant Hook, Col. Maynard Colchester, and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray, the first meeting being held on March 8th, 1699. It is curious to read, as one of the small beginnings of this now great society, how the members at their fifth meeting agreed to deposit five shillings a-piece towards paying for their books and other expenses. It is to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge that English-

S.P.C.K. offices.

men owe the blessing of an abundance of wholesome literature, religious and general, which from this time began to circulate through the country. Ever since its foundation, indeed, Bibles and Prayer-Books have been produced in vast numbers and given away, or sold for less than cost price, until to-day we find the Society now making a gift of Prayer-Books in his native language to the New Zealander, now sending £100 to British Columbia for a printing press, and again contributing to the production of a hymn-book for the Hindoo; while at home in England its books are to be procured everywhere—Bibles and Prayer-Books, publications on religion, on history, on geography, on science and on natural history. Soldiers, sailors, workmen's clubs, teachers, schools, all come within the field of help rendered by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

But the Society has also been a distinct educational organization. For as the growth of vice was traced to the development of ignorance, so schools as well as healthy literature were naturally prescribed as antidotes.

Charity children in the Strand.

These schools rapidly spread, and in 1704 they numbered in London alone 54, with 1,386 boys, 745 girls, 381 of whom were apprenticed. In 1709 the number of schools had risen to 88, with 2,181 boys and 1,221 girls, 1,368 being apprenticed; in 1714, to 117 schools, 3,077 boys and 1,741 girls, 2,474 being apprenticed. In England and Ireland there were in this same year 1,073 schools, with 19,453 scholars, which by the year 1723 had grown to the number of 1,544 schools with an aggregate of 31,832 scholars. In these Charity Schools the children were usually lodged and boarded, and always clothed, the expense of educating 50 boys being calculated at £75, and of 50 girls at £60. But want of funds was keenly felt. For the encouragement both of patrons and children an annual gathering was held and a sermon preached by some eminent divine. In 1704, 2,000 children met at St. Andrew's, Holborn; in 1716, 5,000 children met at St. Sepulchre's; while in 1782 the large numbers required a cathedral (St. Paul's), but even then only a limited number was sent, owing to the prodigious increase of schools and scholars, for such was the success of the labours of the S.P.C.K., that by the year 1741 we find it had established more than 2,000 schools in different parts of the country.

Besides annual sermons, the clergy of London had, as early as 1710, established thirty lectures a month, in which to advocate and promote the cause of education in the metropolis. Lectures of a similar kind were given in the country, and examinations held for the information and satisfaction of the public. Boxes also were put up in churches in support of charity schools and various other means were taken to provide funds.

Masters and mistresses travelled to London—no easy matter in those days—to witness the system of teaching, while in 1712 Dr. Talbot published model lessons in the *Christian Schoolmaster*. The clergy also provided schools and taught in them in their respective parishes.

Welsh school, Ashford.

In 1718 the attention of the London Welsh was drawn to the fact that many of their countrymen in the Metropolis were without a parochial settlement, or any means of giving their children religious instruction. A few gentlemen, therefore, commenced a subscription for the purpose of "setting up and supporting a school in or near London for instructing, clothing, and putting forth as apprentices, poor children descended of Welsh parents."

The school thus founded commenced with twelve day scholars at a small room in Hatton Garden, developed into larger schools at Clerkenwell Green and Gray's Inn Road, and removed in 1854 to Ashford, Middlesex. The school is now conducted as a Boarding School for the daughters of poor professional men of Welsh parentage, and accommodates about 150 girls.

In Wales itself education received a considerable impetus towards the middle of the eighteenth century through the well-directed efforts of the Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror. The object he set before himself was the moral and spiritual elevation of the labouring classes by religious instruction. Secular education was a minor consideration with him; not that he in any way undervalued it, but he rightly deemed that education in the proper sense of the word must be based upon religion. Holding this view, he adopted the vernacular as the medium of all instruction for the Welsh-speaking population, differing in this respect from Mr. Gouge, who had adopted English. As it was out of the question to establish, with the small means at his command, permanent

schools, he planned a system of "Circulating Schools," *i.e.*, of sending masters about from place to place for a few months, as openings presented themselves. By this means he enlarged the area of his operations to a marvellous extent. In 1737 he opened thirty-seven schools, with 2,400 scholars; in 1745 these had grown to 116 schools and 5,635 scholars. Ultimately the number of scholars increased to about 10,000 within the year, so that the sum total of persons who had learned to read their Bible in the Welsh tongue amounted to about 150,000. Catechizing was an essential feature in his system. The funds for carrying on the work were chiefly found in England, as may be seen from the subscription list. Griffith Jones found a generous supporter in Madame Bevan, of Laugharne, and to her he entrusted £7000 to carry on the work after his death. Madame Bevan died in 1779. After her death the Circulating Schools were in abeyance, pending legislation, until 1809. By that time the fund had increased in value, and henceforward yielded about £950 per annum, which is now divided between the four dioceses in the Principality under the discretion of the bishops. Better times arrived with the reign of King George III., whose pious wish, that every poor child in his dominions should be enabled to read his Bible, will not soon be forgotten. The S.P.C.K., in an address on his accession to the throne in 1760, specially dwelt on their efforts in behalf of national education as one which the king would view as of interest and importance to the well-being of his poorer subjects and of the country at large. Thus amidst much discouragement did the Church through her hand-maid offer instruction and open schools throughout the country; but she could not make the unwilling attend upon her ministry, and compel parents to send their children to school. There was no lack of education; the misfortune was that so many parents failed to avail themselves of it.

Mrs. Trimmer.

It may be convenient here to make some mention of Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, and her work in the cause of education. Mrs. Trimmer, whose maiden name was Kirby, was born at Ipswich on January 6, 1741. At the age of fourteen she left Ipswich with her parents, who settled at Kew. Here she enjoyed the advantage of cultured society. Among her father's friends were Dr. Samuel Johnson,

Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Hogarth, Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds, with other great artists of that day. She was married in 1782 to Mr. Trimmer, of Brentford—"a man of exemplary virtue." From the time of her marriage she scarcely read any books but those on education, and she used to say she was afraid of wearying her friends by continually harping on this one string. As her family was numerous her house must have been something like a small college. "I have been," she writes to a friend in after life, "the mother of twelve children, nine of whom are still living. My daughters, five in number, were wholly educated at home; my four sons nearly so." Sunday schools interested Mrs. Trimmer in no small degree. Queen Charlotte sought her advice on this subject, and bishops wrote their thanks for her exertions in the cause of religion. The S.P.C.K. placed her writings on their list of publications, amongst others "The Teacher's Assistant," "The Servant's Friend," "Essay on Christian Education," "Companion to the Prayer-Book;" their very titles will suggest the nature of the subjects on which she loved to dwell, and her anxiety that children should be brought up "in the fear and admonition of the Lord." (*Parish Mag.*, Oct., 1884.)

The year 1781 saw the beginning of Sunday-schools.

There had been born at Gloucester in 1735 one Robert Raikes. His father was the proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*. Mr. Raikes, Senr., appears to have been a philanthropist as well as a journalist, and it was his delight to make his newspaper an organ for doing good.

At the age of twenty-two Robert succeeded his father as proprietor and editor of the *Journal*, and by means of his newspaper recommended the scheme of Sunday-schools far and wide, and at length raised Sunday teaching from a local to a national system.

In estimating Raikes' claim to be considered the founder of Sunday-schools we must remember that he had several most valuable coadjutors, and to one at least—the Rev. Thos. Stock—belongs almost equally with him the credit of the institution of the schools in Gloucester.

Raikes and Stock.

In 1777 Mr. Stock (who, while in charge of Ashbury, had taught the village children Sunday by Sunday in the chancel of

the church) was appointed Head Master of the Gloucester Cathedral school.

A conversation between Stock and Robert Raikes (given by Alfred Gregory in his life of Raikes) illustrates the part played by each. This is Mr. Stock's account:—

"Mr. Raikes, meeting me one day, lamented the deplorable state of the poorer children. I had made," I replied, "the same observation, and told him if he would accompany me into my own parish we would make an attempt to remedy the evil. We immediately proceeded to the business, and procuring the names of about 90 children, placed them under the care of four persons for a stated number of hours on a Sunday. **Sunday School Children.**

"As minister of the parish I took upon me the principal superintendence of the schools and one-third of the expense. The progress of this institution through the kingdom is justly attributed to the constant representations which Mr. Raikes made in his paper of the benefits which would arise from it."

In the year 1881 the Sunday-schools in connection with the Sunday School Institute of the Church of England had no less than 2,500,000 scholars with 200,000 teachers on their roll of members.

We come now to the nineteenth century, a period full of interest in the history of Education. Before describing the stages through which education has advanced during the present century, let us glance at the chief actors engaged, and the various circumstances which led to the adoption of new methods and to increased energy of action. The "monitorial" system had been introduced during the closing years of the 18th century, and two well-known names come before us in connection with that system, those of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell and Mr. Joseph Lancaster. Much unnecessary controversy has grown up around their work, and that of the two great societies which their respective systems called into existence. The plain facts of the case are as follows: The British and Foreign School Society, which took up Lancaster's plan, wished to establish schools in which the Bible should be read, but with the proviso that "no interpretation tending to inculcate the peculiar tenets of any religious denomination was

to be introduced into the school on any pretence whatever." On the other hand, the NATIONAL SOCIETY, with which Dr. Bell was closely associated, advocated the education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England. "The former became the recognized agency of the Dissenters, the latter of the Church; and through one or other of these channels, State aid when it first began to flow was obliged to take its course." (*Craik*, p. 19.)

The circumstances of the time should be noted. The application of steam-power had brought with it the employment of children in factories. In 1802 a Bill, passed at the instance of the first Sir Robert Peel to preserve the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in mills and factories, required that apprentices be instructed every working day for the first four years of apprenticeship in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Provision was also made in the same Act (42 Geo. III., c. 73) for the instruction and religious worship of apprentices on Sundays.

Westminster Abbey Tablet.

In a speech on the Poor Laws Bill, Feb. 19, 1807, Mr. Whitbread alluded to the benefit Mr. Lancaster had conferred on the poor by his school in the Borough Road. His remark brought about a correspondence which sets at rest any doubt whether Dr. Bell or Mr. Lancaster was the originator of the then new system of teaching by monitors. "Hansard's Debates," 1806-7, vol. viii., p. 885-6, gives the following information in a footnote at the end of Mr. Whitbread's speech:—

"Dr. Bell, late of the establishment of Fort St. George, in the East Indies, and Rector of Swanage, claims the original invention of the system of education practised by Mr. Lancaster. So early as the year 1789 he opened a school at Madras, in which that system was first reduced to practice with great success, and the most beneficial effects. In 1797 he published an outline of his method of instruction in a small pamphlet entitled 'An Experiment on Education made at the Male Asylum, Madras.' That pamphlet has been extended, and very valuable details given to the public by Dr. Bell in two subsequent publications in 1805 and 1807.

"Mr. Lancaster's Free School, in the Borough, was not opened till 1800, *so that Dr. Bell unquestionably preceded Mr. Lancaster*,

and to him the world are (*sic*) first indebted for one of the most useful discoveries ever submitted to Society."

The close of the careers of these two men is noteworthy in its contrast. Dr. Bell died in January, 1832, at Cheltenham, leaving £120,000 for the sake of founding educational institutions, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a tablet testifies to his work. Poor Lancaster having left the country, owing to his fallen fortunes, was run over and fatally injured in New York, October, 1838.—*The Globe*, October 24, 1888.

The British and Foreign School Society was founded in the year 1808 to carry out the methods of Mr. Lancaster. The National Society, which, we have seen, was conducted on strictly Church lines, was founded in 1811. For some years after their first planting, the work of these Societies was of a missionary character. Many deep-seated prejudices against the diffusion of education amongst the labouring classes had to be overcome; the principles on which a general scheme of education might be conducted had to be considered and defined, teachers had to be provided, and books prepared. After a time the State, which had hitherto ignored the work of educating the poor, rendered (1833) tardy assistance, and an annual grant was made. In 1839, an Education Department was established, and this marked a new stage in the development of popular education. From that time to 1870 the State worked in concert with the Church in the advancement of religious, as well as secular teaching. But under the Education Act of 1870, the State was entirely withdrawn from all concern in the religious instruction of the children, leaving that important work to private enterprise and voluntary effort. The Free Education Act of 1891 introduces the final stage. Thus there are five several stages through which the cause of education has passed since 1811.

The National Society's House.

I. During the first, the voluntary efforts of philanthropists had neither help nor countenance from the State. The work of education was of a strictly unofficial character, and the building of schools was perhaps the least difficult task. Nevertheless, much progress was made. In his charge of 1814 Bishop Law, of Chester, spoke of the clergy as not forgetful of their duty in the matter. "In many of the northern parts of the diocese," he states, "the clergy

Chester Cathedral.

themselves keep schools." The impulse had no doubt been aroused, or at least increased, by the action of the Bishop of Durham, who some few years before had obtained an Act (41 Geo. III., c. 120) for the establishment and maintenance of schools for the education of poor children in the county of Durham.

In the first four years of its existence the National Society built 85 schools, costing £100,000, while a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen were stirred up by its action to erect schools for their poorer tenants upon their estates. In 1815 the report speaks of 336 trained masters, 186 mistresses, ready to be sent wherever their services were required for the formation of new or the regulation of old establishments. There were more than 100,000 children in Church schools, and 570 schools in union with the National Society.

Mr. Joshua Watson.

The Church of England at this time had no more zealous son than Mr. Joshua Watson. The interest he took in the promotion of all charitable work on Church lines made him a pattern for future ages. Instinctively he took the lead in promoting Church education, and became treasurer of the National Society, a position which he retained till 1842, when he withdrew from it rather than be a party to accepting a Government grant, the terms of which he considered compromising to the principles of the Society.

In 1816 a committee was appointed under Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham to inquire into the state of education among the lower orders of London, Westminster and Southwark. In its third report, the Committee says, "A circular letter has been addressed to all the clergy in England, Scotland and Wales requiring answers to queries. It is impossible to bestow too much commendation upon the alacrity shown by those reverend persons in complying with this requisition, and the honest zeal which they displayed to promote the great object of universal education is truly worthy of the pastors of the people and of the teachers of that gospel which was to be preached to the poor."

In 1820 an Education Bill had been introduced into Parliament but was dropped at the second reading, and it was not until the year after the passing of the Reform Bill that the first grant for school building was made out of public funds.

II. With the year 1833, the second stage began. The State, which had hitherto ignored the work of educating the poor, then at length rendered some assistance. Through the agency of the National Society, as representing the Church (the various denominations being represented by the British and Foreign School Society), the Treasury made for some years an annual grant of £20,000 towards the establishment of new schools; but no supervision over the schools themselves was as yet exercised.

This sum of £20,000 was to be applied exclusively for building purposes, and it was intended that each Society should be benefited by half of the grant, so that Churchmen and Dissenters might be on an absolute equality.

The Returns are as follows of the applications made through the two Societies :—

	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	Total.
National Society . .	11,081	13,002	17,130	11,456	17,041	69,710
B. & F. School Soc. .	9,796	7,168	5,281	5,810	6,090	35,285

The present reign had scarcely begun when the Government, having continued the grant of £20,000 for six years, made a fresh departure, and invited the two Societies to *inspect* the schools which had come into existence. It was then found that the National Society had 690 schools in connection with it, while the British and Foreign School Society had but 160.

Coronation of Queen Victoria.

It was therefore but scant justice to the Church of England to offer an equal sum, viz., £500, to each of the two Societies for the cost of inspection. The National Society did not, however, resent the unequal manner in which the money was divided.

"It was the wish of the Queen from the first," said Lord John Russell in the House of Commons on April 4, 1853, "that the youth of England should be religiously brought up, and that at the same time the rights of conscience should be respected."

III. On April 10, 1839, an Order in Council led to the formation of the Education Department, to administer the Government grant, which had now risen to £30,000 per annum, and to institute a system of school-inspection. This marks the third stage in the development of popular education. From this time till the year 1870, the State worked in concert with voluntary effort in the advancement of religious as well as secular teaching.

Its action was at first exclusively on the lines of the Church of England. "Their Lordships are strongly of opinion that no plan of education ought to be encouraged which does not subordinate intellectual instruction to the precepts of revealed religion."

To meet the disadvantage in which they felt themselves placed, the various denominations took their own action. The Independents founded the Congregational Board of Education, the Baptists the Voluntary School Society. The further development of the action of the Government was hindered by the divergence of party views on the question. One section favoured a voluntary system unconnected with the State; while of the supporters of State education some were inclined to a gratuitous system, some to a denominational, some to a secular system alone. (*Cassell's Dictionary of English History*, p. 407.)

When Government inspection was first insisted on, it was regarded as an insidious mode of securing control over Church schools, and out of 204 Church schools to which building grants had been promised, no less than 169 refused the proffered Government aid; and it was in consequence of the National Society accepting inspection of their schools by the Government, that Mr. Joshua Watson declined any longer to hold office in the Society.

Meanwhile the Church of England, through that Society, with the help and encouragement of the Government, was doing its best to provide training colleges for masters and mistresses. Battersea Training College was the first established, and the public can never sufficiently acknowledge its debt to the late Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth for the munificence with which he, in connection with Mr. Carleton Tufnell, bore the expense of the experiment (at Battersea) for some two years.

Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth.

Within a short time a very large number of Diocesan training colleges were established. Towards this branch of the work, upon the efficiency of which the religious education of our poor so much depends, the National Society gave, and continues to give, large grants. The amounts contributed to the training colleges for establishment and maintenance up to June, 1890, were as follows:—St. Mark's, Chelsea, £92,724; Battersea, £50,355; Whitelands, £35,889; Diocesan and other colleges, £209,010; total, £387,978.

Culham Training College.

The parochial clergy were likewise doing their best both in town and country. Dr. Hook, *e.g.*, Vicar of Leeds from 1837 to 1859, raised in that period the teaching accommodation in Leeds from three schools to thirty. **Hook Memorial Church.**

In 1843 a great work was undertaken by the Rev. Richard Greswell of Worcester College, Oxford, who set on foot, and brought to a triumphant issue, a large voluntary subscription on behalf of "National Christian Education."

"In the middle of June (1843)," writes the late Dean Burgon, "it had become evident that Sir James Graham would be under the necessity of withdrawing his scheme of education, which was only just tolerated by the Church, and had been largely repudiated by the unanimous voice of the Dissenters. . . . . Then it was that Richard Greswell came nobly to the front—inaugurating the movement by himself giving £1000 and, by his letters, obtaining a similar sum from Sir Robert Peel, Her Majesty the Queen, Mrs. Lawrence of Studley Park, the Dukes of Northumberland and Portland, and Mr. A. Beresford-Hope. For Greswell addressed all that was noblest and wealthiest in the land, and wrote long letters, which were attended with the happiest results.

"His own (publicly avowed) subscription of £250 became a precedent which all the Bishops followed—the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London giving £500 each. In the end the 'National Society' entered the field with a capital of £250,000.

"Thus by the spontaneous and independent exertions of individual Churchmen, and the agency of the 'National Society,' was achieved what a Whig Government first, and a Tory Government afterwards, had not been able to accomplish, viz., laying of foundations of the great work of National Education. . . . The entire movement was due to the zeal and to the munificence of one man, our friend Richard Greswell." (*Burgon's Twelve Good Men*, vol. ii., p. 99.)

As to the part played by the country clergy, most noteworthy is the late Bishop of Manchester's evidence given before the Royal Commission of 1859. **The late Bishop Fraser.**

Let the Blue Book of 1861 tell the tale:—"In the rural districts a state of things exists less favourable to education. In the first place, the schools are relatively far more expensive than in

the towns, because they are smaller, the school fees are lower, seldom exceeding 1d. per week, and thus private subscriptions are more important. In the second place, the landowners do not contribute to the expenses of the schools so liberally as the wealthy classes in the mining districts or large towns, so that the burden of supporting the schools falls principally on the parochial clergy, who are very ill able to support it." This is set in a strong light by a letter published in the appendix to Mr. Fraser's report, from which it results that £4,518, contributed by voluntary subscriptions towards the support of 168 schools, was derived from the following sources :—

	£	£	s.	d.	
169 clergymen contributed .	1,782	or 10	10	0	each.
399 landowners	2,127	or 5	6	0	„
102 householders	181	or 1	15	6	„
217 occupiers.	200	or	18	6	„
141 other persons—together .	228				

"The rental of the 399 landowners is estimated at £650,000 per annum."

Another witness, Mr. Hedley, gives a list of annual subscriptions paid by landowners, occupiers and clergy.

In 18 schools taken at random, there was received from owners £188, from occupiers £58, from the clergy £461.

The report continues :—

"The heaviness of the burden borne by the clergy is imperfectly indicated even by such figures as these.

"It frequently happens that the clergyman considers himself responsible for whatever is necessary to make the accounts of the school balance, and thus he places himself towards the school in the position of a banker who allows a customer habitually to overdraw his account. He is the man who most feels the mischief arising from want of education. . . . . He feels the only means of improvement is the education of the young, and he knows that only a small part of the necessary expense can be extracted from the parents. He begs from his neighbours and from the landowners; if he fails to persuade them to take their fair share of the burden he begs from his friends, and even from strangers, and at last submits most meritoriously and most generously to bear not only his

own proportion of the expense, but also that which ought to be borne by others."

To sum up the record of this third period, it may be stated that in the year 1859, out of 24,563 schools or departments in England and Wales the Church was maintaining no less than 19,549, and was educating 1,187,086 scholars out of the total number of 1,549,312 attending week-day schools. In Wales alone the Church provided 868 schools or departments against 278 supported by all other bodies combined.

This same report of the Duke of Newcastle's Commission gives a list of training colleges for males; thirteen were in connection with the Church of England, one was a Roman Catholic college (at Hammersmith), and one a "British and Foreign" College (at Bangor).

Of thirteen training colleges for females, eleven were connected with the Church of England, and the two remaining with the Roman Catholics, one at Liverpool, the other at St. Leonards.

The average number of students at these institutions in the year 1858 was, in colleges for males, 752; females, 818; mixed, 496; total, 2065.

Wells Cathedral.

No account of the work of the Church in educating the people would be complete without some reference, however slight, to *Night-schools*, and to the attempt made thereby both in town and village to supply the deficiencies of early education. One of the Assistant Commissioners states in evidence before the Commission of 1859 (Report, p. 41), "At Wells I found the Bishop himself teaching a class of navvies to read and cipher," some of his pupils "having walked two miles to pursue their studies." Well might Mr. Mundella say, "The clergy were the best supporters of education, and took the greatest interest in it." (*Daily News*, Dec. 22, 1884.)

IV. We now come to the fourth and last stage of our subject; in which the work of the State has been exclusively secular.

Already, as we have seen, a vast network provided by various religious bodies, and aided in many cases by the State, had spread itself over England, though it had not adequately covered the land. But as the success or failure altogether depended on voluntary enterprise, popular education could only be extended in accordance with the voluntary zeal of the country. Previous to 1870 there

existed no public authority, charged with the duty of calling into being elementary schools, where voluntary zeal was for one reason or other unequal to the task. The attendance at elementary schools was anything but satisfactory; in great towns it was inexcusable. Mr. W. E. Forster put his Bill forward as a remedy for these defects, and with the idea of founding a national and comprehensive system of elementary education.

In moving the second reading, Mr. Forster contended that the question affected not only the intellectual, but also the moral training of the people. His first axiom was that in the creation of any new system the lessons of the past should be considered side by side with the wants of the present.

London School Board offices.

A School Board was to be provided in every school district which required further suitable accommodation. This board was to be elected by the ratepayers for a period of three years and to be empowered to raise money for providing adequate school accommodation. Mr. Forster had an idea of supplementing voluntary schools out of the rates, but this did not commend itself to Parliament, and he was unable to carry it into effect.

In announcing a modification of the original Government proposals, Mr. Gladstone said, "We propose a Time-Table Conscience Clause, founded upon the double principle of an entire freedom, as far as the interposition of the clause goes, in the matter of religious instruction, although the time for that instruction must necessarily be circumscribed, and an entire freedom on the part of the parent, corresponding with the freedom of the teacher to teach." The battle raged very hotly around this point. Eventually the Cowper-Temple clause, which enacted that the discretion of School Boards in this matter should be fettered by the single condition that "no religious catechism which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school," was adopted. This of course affected board schools only.

On the passing of the Act, it became at once no longer the duty of H.M. Inspectors to examine in religious knowledge, and an immediate obligation was laid upon the Church, through the agency of the National Society and the various Diocesan Boards in connection with it, to encourage and sustain the work of religious

instruction which had been abandoned by the State. (*Church of England Year Book*, 1883.)

The Act also provided that after March 31, 1871, no further building grants were to be made to voluntary schools. **A modern school.**

Without entering into the various modifications and developments which Mr. Forster's Act has undergone, it may be convenient to refer to the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit, as it is called, of the Parliamentary Grant. The following quotation is taken from the Education Commissioner's Final Report, 1888, p. 186.

"The history of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit may be shortly stated. The Code in force before 1870 limited the Parliamentary grant to half the expenses, and was not to exceed 15*s.* per head on the average attendance. In 1870 the average cost of aided schools was 25*s.* 5*d.* per head, and the average grant was 9*s.* 9¼*d.* In the debates on Mr. Forster's Bill, however, the annual cost of an efficient school was estimated to be about 30*s.* per head, of which the State, the managers, and the parents were each assumed to contribute about one-third.

"This sum (30*s.*) was made the basis of the probable future cost of an efficient school. . . . . In 1875 the average cost had risen to 32*s.* 5¼*d.* and the grant to 12*s.* 7¼*d.* In 1876 the average cost of maintenance in Board Schools was 41*s.* 4*d.* School managers, however, had not found in the working of the Code the relief promised to them in 1870, the subscriptions to Church schools having risen from 7*s.* 5¾*d.* in that year to 8*s.* 8¾*d.* in 1875, and in Roman Catholic Schools from 6*s.* 3*d.* to 8*s.* 1½*d.*

"The Act of 1876, accordingly, in anticipation of a further general increase in the cost of schools per head, took 35*s.* as the measure of the reasonable average outlay, and, as before, fixed upon half that sum, or 17*s.* 6*d.*, as the future limit of the grant, which was to be paid without reference to the amount locally raised. But it provided at the same time that if a school exceeded the normal rate of expenditure it should do so without a corresponding increase of local effort, whether voluntary or by rates; and it required that the grant, if in excess of 17*s.* 6*d.*, should be limited to that amount unless met penny by penny from local sources."

It was alleged that this pressed hardly upon voluntary schools where the fees were low, although the standard of work done might have been high, while schools charging higher fees in richer districts ran no risk of losing their grant; that it discouraged teachers and managers in their efforts to improve schools, the first result being *a deduction* under this rule; that it was a disability which specially affected voluntary schools, since Board Schools could escape any financial difficulty by levying rates; that it was inconsistent with the principle of the Code, viz., payment by results.

The total deduction was about 2*d.* in the £ in grants made to voluntary schools, and 1½*d.* in grants to Board Schools, but the discouragement cannot be thus adequately estimated.

In the aggregate the deductions were as follows for the year ending August 31, 1892 :—

	Articles 82, 92, 100, 107 (a & b), and 108.
	£ s. d.
Schools connected with *Nat. Soc.* or *Church of England*	23,590 1 9
Wesleyan Schools	1,576 5 0
Roman Catholic Schools	2,492 6 2
British and other Schools	2,646 12 2
School Board Schools	9,047 16 5
Total	39,353 1 6

Who educates the children?

We come now to the inquiry, Who educates the children? The answer will be found in some statistics lately furnished by the National Society, and gathered out of the Government reports, which may be tabulated in the following form :—

Elementary Day School Statistics for year ending August 31, 1892.
19,515 *Inspected Schools in year ending August* 31, 1892.

	Accommodation.	Number on Registers.	Average attendances.	Voluntary Contributions.
Church of England	2,684,991	2,226,536	1,716,877	£613,572 9 0
British, &c.	405,378	325,941	252,038	81,276 18 7
Wesleyan	208,598	172,079	130,158	16,852 15 6
Roman Catholic	352,544	264,951	201,304	83,425 13 11
Board	2,041,464	2,017,472	1,570,397	
Totals	5,692,975	5,006,979	3,870,774	£795,127 17 0

Voluntary Contributions of Churchmen for Schools and Training Colleges.

Objects of Expenditure.	1811-1870.	1870-1892.	Total.
	£	£	£
Building Schools	*6,270,577	7,063,452	13,334,029
Maintaining do.	8,500,000	13,710,197	22,210,197
Building Colleges	*194,085	94,810	288,895
Maintaining do.	185,276	314,547	499,823
Totals	15,149,938	21,183,006	36,332,944

* These figures do not include the value of the sites, an item on which another million pounds at least should be added.

Sir W. Hart Dyke (February, 1890) estimated the total amount raised by friends of Voluntary Schools up to 1882 for buildings alone as over £14,000,000.

From the foregoing table it will be seen that the Church of England is at the present time educating about 44·5 per cent. of the whole number of children in elementary schools throughout the country, and it is our obvious duty to sustain in their integrity institutions which are the practical and latest outcome of the work and zeal of Churchmen for the last seventy years, under the sanction, encouragement, and, finally, the assistance of the National Government.

We now come to a fifth stage in the history of Education during the present century. Free Education is a natural corollary of Compulsory Education. It was a mere question of sooner or later. Lord Salisbury's Government passed the Elementary Education Act (1891), as the natural outcome of that which Mr. W. E. Foster had introduced 21 years before. This Act came into operation on September 1st, 1891. During the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons there were some memorable utterances which it may be well to chronicle. **House of Commons**

The debate, which commenced on 21st February, 1890, marks a most important epoch in the history of this question.

The points chiefly to be noted are these:—1st, the recognition in all, or almost all, quarters of the House of the determination of the majority of the English people to have religious teaching for their children, and with this view to preserve what are known as the voluntary, or denominational schools. 2ndly, the emphasis given, in one notable speech, to the very serious consequences,

financial and other, which would ensue from the overthrow of these schools. 3rdly, the express declarations of the Government, that the interests of these schools must be safeguarded in any proposals hereafter to be submitted for the abolition of school fees, whether complete or partial.

We will take these points in order, and illustrate them from the report of the debate.

1. Mr. Arthur Acland, the mover of the Resolution, himself an advanced Liberal, used these notable words, with which we are not expressing our agreement, but which are in striking contrast to the Old Radical demand for Education, "free, compulsory, and secular." "They all knew," said Mr. Acland, "that the religious instruction given in many of their Board* Schools was very excellent, quite as good as that given in the voluntary schools. The people had decided this point for themselves —*that they would have religious teaching in the Board Schools.*"

Mr. Fenwick, one of the "labour representatives," said: "They all acknowledged the useful work which the voluntary schools had accomplished, and they were not prepared to seek their abolition."

Mr. Mundella, the late Vice-President of the Council, said: "They had no wish to attack voluntary schools."

And once more Sir William Harcourt said, referring to Mr Chamberlain's remarkable speech: "Another blow that the right hon. gentleman struck at the cause of free education was by declaring that the object of the Opposition, or of the greater part of it, was to destroy voluntary schools. He absolutely denied that." (Hear, hear.)

2. It is difficult to compress into a few sentences the very powerful statement of Mr. Chamberlain as to the consequences of the abolition of these schools.† One quotation must suffice here:

* The result of inquiries held by the London School Board in 1893 demonstrate clearly that religious instruction may be given in schools of the Board by an unbeliever in the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ.

† This speech is printed in separate form, and should be carefully read by all who are interested in this most important subject. See leaflet No. 115, Church Defence Institution: "What Voluntary Schools save the country, and what their extinction would cost." By the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P.

"If they wiped out the voluntary schools to-morrow, not only a capital expenditure either of £28,000,000 as a minimum, or £40,000,000 as a maximum, but they would have to provide an annual expenditure of £1,680,000 in addition to the present rates. . . . They had to add 130 per cent. to the total amount of the present rates."

3. The declarations of the Government were most explicit. The Vice-President of the Council (Sir William Hart-Dyke) said, "He made it a *sine quâ non* of any scheme, not only that it should be thoroughly safeguarded in all its details, but that it should bear, not only on the face of it, but in the working of it, ample security as regarded the future of voluntary schools."

And Mr. Edward Stanhope, in summing up the debate on behalf of the Cabinet, said: "The first of these objects, as I will candidly avow, is that in nothing we propose we shall damage or injure the prospects of voluntary schools."

We now come to the results of the first year of Free Schools.

Day School Children: Growth in Numbers.

The Returns of the Education Department for the year ending August 31, 1892, abstracts of which will be found in the Appendix, shows the position of Church Schools—notwithstanding the great difficulties of providing additional buildings, and of securing definite religious teaching for the children of Church people in all Public Elementary Schools—to be better than it ever has been before. Out of a total number of children under instruction, the Church provides accommodation for 2,684,991 (an increase of 14,462 in the year), or 643,527 more than all the Board Schools; while the number on her Registers is 2,226,536, being 209,064 more than that of the Board Schools. Her average attendance is 1,716,877 (an increase of 39,754 in the year), being 146,480 in excess of the Board Schools, while at the inspection she presented 2,050,175 children, or 191,988 more than the Board Schools. It should be noted that as regards average attendance the increase is chiefly in the Infants' departments.

The Grant earned shows a rise of ½d. per head; schools in which drawing is taught have increased from 3,000 to 10,000; school Savings Banks increased from 1,500 to 4,200. It is with a great satisfaction that Churchmen can compare the Grant earned and

the cost and income per scholar in Church Schools with those of Board Schools :—

	Grant earned.	Cost per Scholar.	Income per Scholar.
	s. *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
Average	18 4½	... 2 1 3¼	... 2 2 0¾
Church Schools ...	18 0½	... 1 17 8	... 1 16 5
Board Schools ...	18 11	... 2 8 4¾	... 2 8 4¾

In other words, the schools of the Board spent 10s. 8¾d. per child in earning a grant of 10½d. in excess of that earned by Church Schools. The expenditure for ten years ending 1892 stands thus: total, £70,498,029, of which the Church has spent £30,098,324 and the Board £30,001,528.

The total income of Church Schools was £3,128,566; the expenditure £3,238,258, a deficiency of £100,000, notwithstanding that the voluntary contributions had been raised from £602,573 to £613,572.

Upon Church Schools and training Colleges Churchmen have spent £36,000,000, raised by voluntary efforts, since 1811, of which more than half has been raised since 1870.

The increase in certificated teachers has not kept pace with the increase in scholars; 949 teachers cannot provide for the 134,405 children. Pupil-teachers have decreased by 1170; this is the item which shows that the future of Church Schools is being seriously endangered by Board-school competition; the Boards being able to make superior arrangements for the training of intending teachers.

There are now 314 "warned" schools; in 26 cases the warning has been followed by a refusal of grants. It is poor consolation to learn that in almost all cases *the grant would have been saved* had the managers sought the aid of the Diocesan Boards or the National Society more promptly.

Are, then, Church Schools losing ground?

The following figures are an interesting reply to those who tell us "so many Church Schools have been, and are being, surrendered to Boards that it is only a matter of time before all will have

been handed over, and it is therefore not worth while to continue the struggle to maintain our Schools" :—

CHURCH SCHOOLS.

	INSTITUTIONS.	DEPARTMENTS.
Number existing in 1870	6,954 ...	9,948
Number provided since 1870	5,831 ...	7,886
Total	12,785 ...	17,834
Transferred to School Boards since 1870 ...	850 ...	1,200
Number now existing	11,935 ...	16,634

In other words, some people would close 11,935 Church Schools because 850 (chiefly old ones) have been surrendered; ignoring the fact that 5,831 new schools have been opened.

The Law Courts.

No more eloquent words showing the value and necessity of the religious educational work of the Church could be found with which to conclude this narrative than those of Mr. Justice Stephen. In his learned work, the "History of the Criminal Law," vol. iii., p. 366, he says:—"The Criminal Law may be described with truth as an expansion of the second table of the Ten Commandments. The statement in the Catechism of the positive duties of man to man corresponds step by step with the prohibitions of a Criminal Code. Those who honour and obey the Queen, will not commit high treason or other political offences. Those who honour and obey in due order and degree those who are put in authority under the Queen, will not attempt to pervert the courts of justice, nor will they disobey lawful commands or violate the provisions of Acts of Parliament, or be guilty of corrupt practices with regard to public officers, or in the discharge of the powers confided to them by law.

"Those who hurt nobody by word will not commit libel or threaten injury to person, property or reputation, nor will they lie in courts of justice or elsewhere, but will keep their tongues from evil speaking, lying and slandering. Those who hurt nobody by deed will not commit murder or administer poison, wound, or assault others, or burn their houses or maliciously injure their property.

"Those who keep their hands from picking and stealing will commit neither thefts nor fraudulent breaches of trust nor forgery, nor

will they pass bad money. Those who keep their bodies in temperance, soberness, and chastity will not fall into a multitude of abominable offences, but avoid the causes which lead to the commission of nearly all crimes. Those who learn and labour truly to get their own living will not be disorderly persons, cheats, impostors, rogues, or vagabonds, and will at all events have taken a long step towards doing the duty in the state of life to which it has pleased God to call them.

"The criminal law may be thus regarded as a detailed exposition of the different ways in which men may so violate their duty to their neighbours as to incur the indignation of society to an extent measured not inaccurately by the various punishments awarded to their misdeeds."*

Well then may we echo the report of the majority of the recent Royal Commission, and as Churchmen and Englishmen say—"We are persuaded that the only safe foundation on which to construct a theory of morals or to secure high moral conduct is the religion which Jesus Christ has taught the world."—*Report of the Royal Commission on Education.*

"We have said enough to show Churchmen their duty, their possibilities, and their reasonable certainties in this grave crisis; we appeal to all who read these lines to take immediate action, the laymen to influence their neighbours and support their clergy; the clergy to instruct their people in the meaning of the education crisis; the Bishops to form a definite policy and make a solemn and united appeal to the nation. By strong, united, determined action we shall gain all we ought to have; by delegation, disunion, and uncertainty we shall lose, and deserve to lose, the little we have left."—*Church Times,* June 25, 1893.

* "The Place of the Church Catechism in the National Life" (Leaflet No. 159, The Church Defence Institution).

APPENDIX.

Extract from the Return of the Committee of Council on Education (England and Wales), 1891-92.

Elementary Schools.

On the 31st August, 1892, there were 19,634 day schools under separate management on the list for inspection, and claiming annual grants.

Obs.—[It will be observed that some of these schools may have been inspected more than once, while others may not have been inspected at all, in the course of the year, in consequence of a change in the month fixed for the annual inspection.]

These 19,634 schools contained 29,858 departments, under separate head-teachers, with accommodation for 5,730,888 scholars ; the number of scholars on the registers was 5,037,402, and the average number in attendance 3,892,989.

Public Elementary Schools (Inspected).

In the year ending 31st August, 1892, the inspectors visited 19,515 day schools in England and Wales, to which grants were made, containing 29,672 departments under separate head-teachers, and furnishing accommodation for 5,692,975 scholars. There were on the registers of these schools the names of 5,006,979 children, of whom

1,611,736 were under 7 years of age ;
3,203,129 between 7 and 13 ;
152,930 between 13 and 14 ; and
39,184 above 14.

Of these 4,609,240 were present at the inspector's visit, and 3,870,774 were, on an average, in daily attendance throughout the year. The number of scholars whose names had been on school registers for last 22 weeks of school year was, in infant schools and classes, 1,764,930 ; in schools for older scholars, 3,242,049.

Very few schools have refused to accept the fee grant. The inspection returns to August 31, 1892, show that out of 19,515 schools inspected 18,673 had accepted the fee grant, and the number of schools receiving the fee grant on June 1, 1893, had risen to 19,534. Only 142 have refused the grant. Of the 19,515 schools inspected, 15,170 were free schools, having 3,429,577 free scholars on the registers. The total number of free scholars on the registers of all schools was 3,880,722, and the total number of fee paying scholars 1,126,257. The number of free schools and free scholars has considerably increased since August 31, 1892, but the department is unable to give the figures up to present date.

Abstract of INCOME OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS *inspected for Annual Grants between* 1*st September*, 1882, *and* 31*st August*, 1892.
Schools connected with the National Society or the Church of England.

Year ending 31st August.	From Endowment.	From Voluntary Contributions.	From School Pence.	From other Sources.	Total Income from all Sources except Grants.	From Fee Grant.	From Annual Grant.	Total Income.	Rate of Income per Scholar in Average Attendance.	Rate of Income per Scholar from all Sources except Govt. Grant.	No. of Schools inspected.	Average No. of Scholars in Attendance in those Schools.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
1883 -	131,269	577,314	826,294	28,820	1,563,697	—	1,203,025	2,766,722	1 15 2½	0 19 10¼	11,747	1,573,909
1884 -	133,864	585,072	854,998	29,516	1,603,450	—	1,234,481	2,837,931	1 15 1¾	0 19 10	11,808	1,617,242
1885 -	134,014	583,936	872,502	31,708	1,622,160	—	1,315,172	2,937,332	1 15 10½	0 19 9¾	11,834	1,640,540
1886 -	133,159	586,951	869,026	33,733	1,627,869	—	1,344,116	2,966,985	1 16 4½	0 19 10¾	11,824	1,634,637
1887 -	138,243	580,872	873,758	33,529	1,626,402	—	1,365,007	2,991,409	1 16 2½	0 19 8¼	11,885	1,654,622
1888 -	140,096	582,081	877,981	29,741	1,630,499	—	1,383,299	3,013,798	1 16 2	0 19 6¾	11,878	1,674,434
1889 -	145,150	582,018	881,239	25,222	1,653,529	—	1,422,622	3,076,151	1 16 6¾	0 19 8	11,900	1,688,366
1890 -	138,118	589,641	897,159	35,554	1,660,472	—	1,455,442	3,115,914	1 16 11½	0 19 8¼	11,924	1,690,934
1891 -	137,990	602,574	899,849	39,973	1,680,386	—	1,461,680	3,142,066	1 17 4¾	1 0 0	11,957	1,688,017
1892 -	135,596	613,573	577,148	52,058	1,378,375	247,751	1,502,440	3,128,566	1 16 5	0 16 0½	11,925	1,728,752
Total	1,367,999	5,884,032	8,439,954	349,854	16,041,839	247,751	13,687,284	29,976,874	—	—	—	—

GRANTS : AMOUNTS CLAIMED AND DEDUCTIONS (1892).

DENOMINATIONS.	AMOUNTS CLAIMED. Day Schools.	AMOUNTS CLAIMED. Evening Schools.	REDUCTION OF CLAIMS. Day Schools.	REDUCTION OF CLAIMS. Evening Schools.	TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANTS. Day Schools.	TOTAL AMOUNT OF GRANTS. Evening Schools.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Church of England Schools	1,572,864 11 2	6,494 16 0	23,590 1 9	1 3 0	1,549,274 9 5	,493 13 0
Wesleyan Schools	119,871 13 0	303 12 0	1,576 5 0	—	118,295 8 0	303 12 0
Roman Catholic Schools	181,080 3 6	954 2 0	2,492 6 2	7 12 6	178,587 17 4	946 9 6
British and other Schools	233,257 3 11	4,961 16 0	2,646 12 2	0 17 0	230,610 11 9	4,960 19 0
School Board Schools	1,493,579 12 5	23,895 18 0	9,047 16 5	0 8 0	1,484,531 16 0	25,895 10 0
	3,600,653 4 0	36,610 4 0	39,353 1 6	10 0 6	3,561,300 2 6	36,600 3 6

Abstract of EXPENDITURE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS *inspected for Annual Grants between the* 1*st September*, 1882, *and the* 31*st August*, 1892.

Schools connected with the National Society or the Church of England.

Year ending 31st August.	Salaries.	Books and Apparatus.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Rate of Expenditure per Scholar in Average Attendance.
	£	£	£	£	£ s. d.
1883 - - - - -	2,165,556	159,846	429,980	2,755,382	1 15 0½
1884 - - - - -	2,214,449	186,680	442,594	2,843,723	1 15 2½
1885 - - - - -	2,298,640	173,303	463,520	2,935,463	1 15 10¼
1886 - - - - -	2,336,084	169,818	469,851	2,975 753	1 16 5½
1887 - - - - -	2,370,960	168,818	463,010	3,002,788	1 16 4½
1888 - - - - -	2,391 239	168.687	465,619	3,025,545	1 16 3½
1889 - - - - -	2,413,021	169 066	470,917	3,053,004	1 16 3¾
1890 - - - - -	2,455,766	172,750	480.502	3,109 018	1 16 10½
1891 - - - - -	2,480 807	181,924	497,159	3 159,890	1 17 7¼
1892 - - - - -	2,510,387	202,020	525,851	3,238,258	1 17 8
Total - -	23,636,909	1,752,912	4,709,003	30,098,824	———

Abstract of Expenditure of Elementary Schools inspected for Annual Grants—continued.

Summary under Denominations.

———	Years ending 31st August.	Salaries.	Books and Apparatus	Miscellaneous.	Total.
		£	£	£	£
Schools connected with *National Society* or *Church of England* - - - - - -	1883—1892	23,636,909	1,752,912	4,709,003	30,098,824
Wesleyan Schools - - - - -	1883—1892	1,898,034	146,160	334,130	2,378,324
Roman Catholic Schools - -	1883—1892	2,166,306	212,326	715,129	3,093,761
British, Undenominational and other Schools - - - - -	1883—1892	3,835,094	299,494	791 004	4,925,592
Board Schools - - - - - -	1883—1892	23,313,497	1,787,527	4,900,504	30,001,528
Total - - -	1883—1892	54,849,840	4,198,419	11,449,770	70,498,029

General Summary of Statistics of Annual Grant Schools Inspected during the Year ending 31st August, 1892.

The results given are not to be taken as complete *accounts of each Denomination, being those of* actual *inspection* only, *for the period specified.*

Day Schools.

Denominations.	Number of Schools, *i.e.*, Institutions under separate Management.	Number of Departments in which separate Head Teachers are employed.					Number of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided.	Average Number of Scholars in Attendance.	Number of			
		Boys.	Girls.	Mixed.	Infants.	Total.			Certificated Teachers.	Assistant Teachers.	Pupil Teachers.	Additional Female Teachers. (Art. 68.)
Schools connected with *Nat. Soc.* or *Church of England*	11,883	1,983	1,776	9,354	3,448	16,561	2,684,991	1,716,877	20,917	10,408	11,205	4,440
Wesleyan Schools	526	37	31	489	249	806	208,598	130,158	1,211	821	1,165	165
Roman Catholic Schools	954	240	218	713	447	1,618	352,544	201,304	2,242	1,322	1,424	693
British, Undenominational, and other Schools	1,321	214	166	1,044	437	1,861	405,378	252,038	2,804	1,620	1,956	425
School Board Schools	4,831	1,678	1,612	3,058	2,478	8,826	2,041,464	1,570,397	21,598	9,387	11,211	1,228
Total	19,515	4,152	3,803	14,658	7,059	29,672	5,692,975	3,870,774	48,772	23,558	26,961	6,951

Denominations.	Number and Percentage of Scholars on the School Registers aged														Amount paid out of Parliamentary Grants for year ending Aug. 31, 1892.	Rate of Grant per Scholar in Average Attendance.
	Under 3	3 and under 4.	4 and under 5	5 and under 6.	6 and under 7.	7 and under 8.	8 and under 9.	9 and under 10.	10 and under 11.	11 and under 12.	12 and under 13.	13 and under 14.	14 and over.	Total.		
															£	£ s. d.
Schools connected with *Nat. Soc.* or *Church of England*	2,905	74,535	162,109	235,026	260,474	257,686	253,773	257,757	249,026	224,927	168,511	63,624	16,183	2,226,536	1,549,274	0 18 0½
	·13	3·35	7·28	10·55	11·70	11·57	11·40	11·58	11·18	10·10	7·57	2·86	—	—		
Wesleyan Schools	219	5,454	11,639	17,065	18,948	19,346	19,308	19,809	19,397	18,120	15,042	6,030	1,702	172,079	118,295	0 18 2
	·13	3·17	6·76	9·92	11·01	11·24	11·22	11·51	11·27	10·53	8·74	3·51	—	—		
Roman Catholic Schools	66	10,496	22,265	29,742	30,939	27,703	29,619	30,462	29,311	26 319	19,875	6,927	1,227	264,951	178,587	0 17 9
	·03	3·96	8·40	11·23	11·68	10 46	11·18	11·50	11·06	9·93	7·50	2·61	—	—		
British, Undenominational, and other Schools	435	9,184	21,123	30,855	35,177	35,781	36,578	37,994	38,183	36,187	28,840	11,886	3,718	325,941	230,610	0 18 3½
	·13	2·82	6·48	9·47	10·79	10 98	11·22	11·66	11·71	11·10	8·85	3·65	—	—		
School Board Schools	1,474	58,994	137,040	205,624	229,948	234,281	228,005	235,012	227,039	212,305	166,933	64,463	16,354	2,017,472	1,484,531	0 18 11
	·07	2·93	6·79	10·19	11·40	11·61	11·30	11·65	11·25	10·52	8 28	3·20	—	—		
Total	5,099	158,663	354,176	518,312	575,486	574,797	567,283	581,034	562,956	517,858	399,201	152,930	39,184	5,006,979	3,561,300	0 18 4¾
	·10	3·17	7·07	10·35	11·50	11·48	11·33	11 61	11·24	10·34	7·97	3·06	—	—	*	

* The actual amount paid out of Parliamentary Grants was £3,561,300 2s. 6d. In the above column space compels brevity, and so the shillings and pence are omitted.

AGGREGATE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF SCHOOLS (1892).

DENOMINATIONS.	INCOME.								
	Endowment.	School Board Rates.	Voluntary Contributions.	School Pence.		Fee Grant.	Annual Grants (1890-91).	Other Sources.	Total.
				Paid by Scholars.	Paid by Guardians.				
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Schools connected with *National Society* or *Church of England* ...	135,595 18 11	—	613,572 9 0	558,315 3 9	18,832 18 7*	247,751 3 1	1,502,440 4 0	52,057 13 8	3,128,565 11 0
Wesleyan Schools	795 18 8	—	16,852 15 6	75,319 16 9	1,259 3 6†	17,474 16 8	115,617 19 5	4,920 14 10	232,241 5 4
Roman Catholic Schools	2,484 17 9	—	83,425 13 11	54,632 5 0	7,520 13 3‡	22,523 15 0	171,975 3 1	2,303 0 9	344,865 8 9
British, Undenominational, and other Schools	20,006 5 3	—	81,276 18 7	121,220 8 1	2,133 7 0§	33,993 6 2	228,396 11 8	8,747 11 5	495,774 8 2
School Board Schools	3,238 13 9	1,704,370 11 11	3,649 5 3	439,415 17 3	7,176 10 2‖	203,532 10 8	1,419,377 15 10	75,780 15 5	3,856,542 0 3
Total...	162,121 14 4	1,704,370 11 11	798,777 2 3	1,248,903 10 10	36,922 12 6¶	525,275 11 7	3,437,807 14 0	143,809 16 1	8,057,988 13 6

DENOMINATIONS.	EXPENDITURE.				DAY SCHOOLS.	
	Salaries.	Books and Apparatus.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Rate of Income per Scholar in Average Attendance. (*a.*)	Rate of Expenditure per Scholar in Average Attendance. (*a.*)
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Schools connected with *National Society* or *Church of England* ...	2,510,387 7 11	202,019 13 8	525,850 14 2	3,238,257 15 9	1 16 5	1 17 8
Wesleyan Schools	193,004 7 0	15,807 9 11	35,070 17 8	243,882 14 7	1 15 8½	1 17 5¾
Roman Catholic Schools	250,972 8 5	24,740 14 10	87,042 7 8	362,755 10 11	1 14 3½	1 15 11
British, Undenominational, and other Schools	395,032 1 10	32,562 11 5	86,979 9 11	514,574 3 2	1 18 9¾	2 0 3
School Board Schools	2,931,508 14 8	231,118 3 11	691,719 2 4	3,854,346 0 11	2 8 4¾	2 8 4¾
Total	6,280,904 19 10	506,248 13 9	1,426,662 11 9	8,213,816 5 4	2 1 3¼	2 2 0¾

* On account of 73,206 scholars. † On account of 4,579 scholars. ‡ On account of 24,852 scholars. § On account of 8,232 scholars. ‖ On account of 31,249 scholars.
¶ Total on account of 142,118 scholars. (*a.*) Calculated on complete annual returns only.

Expenditure from Education Grants.

(Table A.)—*Classified according to Object of Grant.*

—	For Year ended 31 Dec. 1892.	Compared with Year ended 31 Dec., 1891. Increase.	Decrease.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1. Annual grants for day and evening scholars .. .. { day	3,687,187 15 9	338,924 12 6	—
{ evening	36,610 9 6	8,249 15 7	—
2. Fee grants for day scholars	1,842,930 12 6	1,491,477 3 4	—
3. Grants to School Boards under Act 33 & 34 Vict. c. 75. s. 97	8,898 2 4	1,445 4 8	—
4. Annual grants to training colleges	138,332 18 5	10,014 11 5	—
5. Pensions and gratuities to teachers	18,477 9 4	1,925 9 1	—
6. Administration :— £ s. d.			
Office in London 59,535 14 4			
Inspection 172,505 14 1	232,937 19 7	6,770 5 11	—
Contingencies of office 896 11 2			
7. Organisation of districts, &c., under Act 33 & 34 Vict. c. 75	140 15 7	51 7 1	—
Total	5,965,516 3 0	1,853,858 9 7	—

(Table B.)—*Classified according to Denomination of Recipients.*

—	For Year ended 31 Dec., 1892.	Compared with Year ended 31 Dec., 1891. Increase.	Decrease.	From 1839 to 31 Dec., 1892.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
On Schools connected with Church of England	2,513,280 19 4	800,286 15 11	— —	35,177,561 6 5
On British, Undenominational, and other Schools	400,965 4 10	113,611 5 10	— —	8,980,429 6 1
On Wesleyan Schools	196,772 12 4	62,112 1 3	— —	
On Roman Catholic Schools ..	293,885 4 1	101,054 12 9	— —	3,356,541 13 9
On Board Schools	2,318,635 4 11	773,526 16 2	— —	17,075,696 6 6
On Parochial Union Schools ..	— —	— —	— —	80,261 12 4
Other Schools	— —	— —	— —	189 14 10
Administration (as in Table A.) ..	232,937 19 7	6,770 5 11	— —	*5,283,011 16 4
Organisation of districts, &c., under Act 33 & 34 Vict. c. 75 ..	140 15 7	51 7 1	— —	85,062 6 3
Grants to School Boards under Act 33 & 34 Vict. c 75, s. 97 ..	8,898 2 4	1,445 4 8	— —	66,830 6 6
Transferred in 1857 under the head of Scientific Apparatus to the account of the Department of Science and Art, towards the expense of establishing the Educational Division of the South Kensington Museum	— —	— —	— —	1,500 0 0
Payments made from the Vote for Public Education by the Treasury in 1848, 1850, 1853, and 1854	— —	— —	— —	11,604 9 0
Total	5,965,516 3 0	1,858,858 9 7	— —	70,118,688 18

* Includes the cost of administration of the grants for Scotland up to 1872–3, and part of the administration of such grants from 1873–4 to 1886.

Statistics of the Education Department,

Extracted from the Return presented to Parliament, April, 1892, may be tabulated thus :—

(The Figures for the Years 1889, 1890, and 1891 are given for the purpose of comparison.)

Accommodation.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1889	1890	1891	1892
Church	2,621,100	2,651,078	2,670,529	2,684,991
British, &c.	412,277	416,253	416,319	405 378
Wesleyan	214,240	214,819	212,574	208,598
Roman Catholic	334,032	341,953	348,383	352,544
Board	1,858,792	1,915,182	1,980,396	2,041,464
	5,440,441	5,539,285	5,628,201	5,692,975

Numbers on the Registers.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1889	1890	1891	1892
Church	2,166,513	2,168,229	2,157,975	2,226,536
British, &c.	331,091	329,732	328,243	325,941
Wesleyan	176,230	174,773	171,687	172,079
Roman Catholic	251,772	255,777	254,043	264,951
Board	1,830,229	1,875,638	1,912,735	2,017,472
	4,755,835	4,804,149	4,824,683	5,006,979

Average Attendance.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1889	1890	1891	1892
Church	1,678,068	1,680,596	1,677,123	1,716,877
British, &c.	256,525	254,873	255,116	252,038
Wesleyan	132,873	131,805	131,090	130,158
Roman Catholic	190,324	193,285	195 056	201,304
Board	1,424,835	1,457 358	1,491,571	1,570,397
	3,682,625	3 717,917	3 749,956	3,870,774

NUMBERS PRESENT AT INSPECTION.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1889	1890	1891	1892
Church	1,964,639	1,964,394	1,979,532	2,050,175
British, &c.	302,412	300,709	157,421	157,422
Wesleyan	158,007	157,125	231,068	241,417
Roman Catholic	221,446	223,645	303,504	302,039
Board	1,661,475	1,695,491	1,754,535	1,858,187
	4,307,979	4,341,364	4,426,060	4,609,240

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1889	1890	1891	1892
	£	£	£	£
Church	582,018	589,640	602,573	613,572
British, &c.	83,130	79,723	81,532	81,276
Wesleyan	17,191	17,253	16,939	16,852
Roman Catholic	67,480	70,911	78,048	83,425
Board	1,039	1,141	464	3,649
	750,858	758,668	779,556	798,776

ESTIMATED TOTAL VOLUNTARY EXPENDITURE ON CHURCH **Schools and Colleges in Wales** FROM 1811 TO 1892 INCLUSIVE.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.	1811-1870.	1871-1892.	TOTALS.
	£	£	£
Building	387,879	429,495	817,374
Maintenance	521,116	841,484	1,362,600
	908,995	1,270,979	2,179,974

TABLE OF DATES.

668	Archbishop Theodore.
710	Ven. Bede.
732	Egbert of York.
782	Alcuin.
890	Alfred the Great.
960	Dunstan.
1010	Ælfric the Grammarian.
1070	Ingulphus.
1139	Theobald.
1140	Monastic Schools.
1176	Cathedral Schools.
1258	Proclamation of Henry III.
1362	English in Law Courts.
1382	William of Wykeham.
1385	English in Schools.
1441	Eton College.
1476	Caxton.
1512	Dean Colet.
1517	Cardinal Wolsey.
1552	Christ's Hospital.
1561	Merchant Taylor's.
1599	Charterhouse.
1672	Rev. Thos. Gouge.
1698	S.P.C.K.
1704	Queen Anne.
1740	Rev. Griffiths Jones.
1781	Robert Raikes.
1797	Rev. Dr. Bell.
1811	National Society.
1833	First Government Grant.
1839	Education Department.
1859	Duke of Newcastle's Commission.
1870	Compulsory Education.
1891	Free Education.

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTS

OF THE

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I. To resist all attempts to destroy or weaken the Union between Church and State.

II. To assist, by advice, or by the co-operation of its members, in the formation of Local Associations to the Church Defence Institution, which will work for a similar purpose, each in its own locality.

III. To assist in promoting such measures of well-considered Church Reform as would in themselves prove the best and most efficient means of Church Defence.

IV. To publish from time to time pamphlets and leaflets on important Church questions, and on measures which are likely to come under the cognizance of Parliament; also to supply efficient Lecturers and Speakers, whenever it is considered desirable to hold meetings in support of the objects of the Institution.

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I. That the objects of the Institution shall be—to combine, as far as possible, Churchmen of every shade of political and religious opinion in the maintenance and support of the Established Church, and its rights and privileges in relation to the State,—particularly as regards all questions affecting its welfare likely to become the subject of legislative action ; and generally to encourage the co-operation of Clergy and Laity, in their several districts, for the promotion of measures conducive to the welfare of the Church.

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THE TITLE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO HER PROPERTY AND REVENUES.

A PAPER READ AT THE LINCOLN DIOCESAN CONFERENCE, OCTOBER, 1892,

BY

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THE TITLE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO HER PROPERTY AND REVENUES.

A RETURN ordered by the House of Commons, dated June 30, 1891, gives the total gross annual income of the Church of England from all manner of property as £5,469,171, and estimates that portion of it which is derived from private benefactions since the year 1703 at £284,386. The date 1703 was, no doubt, selected because in the year following the benefaction known as Queen Anne's Bounty was given. It is not impossible that this return may be considerably in excess of the reality. Lord Selborne in a careful calculation made in the year 1886 puts the gross total of Church property at the annual value of £4,810,229. Of the sum of £5,469,171 given in the return £87,827 is assigned to Bishops' Sees, £192,460 to Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, £3,941,057 to Ecclesiastical Benefices, while the Ecclesiastical Commissioners hold property producing an income of £1,247,827, which is variously distributed.

As regards the amount of private benefactions made since 1703, no account is given of the sums expended by incumbents on parsonage houses, but the rateable value of the houses is given at £518,054, and a note is appended which says: "More than two-thirds of the cost of parsonage houses may be regarded as derived from private benefactions and from the payments of the clergy out of their incomes." Of private benefactions made between the period of the Reformation and 1703 no account is given. Probably these do not amount to any great sum.

At the Reformation period we know that a vast amount of property was taken away from the Church.

The tithes alienated into lay hands at the dissolution of the monasteries amounted to no less an annual value than £962,289, and this does not nearly represent the amount taken from the Church at that period. A great number of valuable manors was taken from the Sees in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth, and at every avoidance of a See the new incumbent was obliged, as it were, to purchase his position by fresh surrenders to the Crown.

For the origin, therefore, of the great bulk of ecclesiastical property which is now enjoyed we must go back to very early times. Now it is obvious that all inquiries of this sort must have the element of obscurity. Donations were made in early days, not by formal writings which have been preserved, but by word of mouth and symbolical actions. The early donors had no prospective eye to the operations of the Liberation Society, nor did it enter into their calculations that a time would come when the title of the Church to the gifts which they readily bestowed upon it would be disputed and denied. The usual argument used by those who desire to lay hands on the property of the Church is that the State conferred this property and therefore the State may resume it. This statement is absolutely unhistorical. The State never conferred its property on the Church. It may be well here to quote the words (probably well known to many) of one of the most famous historians of modern times, whose recent loss we are still deploring—Professor Freeman :—

" People talk as if Church property were the property of some vast corporation called ' The Church.' In truth, it is siuply the property of the several local churches, the ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, bishops, chapters, rectors and vicars, or any others.

" The Church of England as a single body has no property. . . If we wish to argue this question on its true ground we must put out of sight the popular notion that at some time or other the State determined to make a general national endowment of religion. . . . . But the conversion of England took place gradually when there was no such thing as an English nation

capable of a national act. This king or that earl founded or endowed this or that church in which he felt a special interest, and from this it naturally followed that one church was much more richly endowed than another."

The most plausible foundation for the statement that tithes were a State dotation is in the assertion that such a dotation was made by King Ethelwulf, in the year 855. (1) In the first place whatever Ethelwulf did could only apply to the part of England called Wessex. (2) In the next place he could not give the tithe, as that had been settled before by the Council of Chelsea, 787, whose decrees were accepted as binding by the kings and witans of Mercia and Northumbria, and probably by the witan of Wessex also. (3) In the third place what Ethelwulf actually did was, according to the best authorities, as follows: (1) He released from all payments to the royal exchequer a tenth part of the unenfranchised lands, whether in the tenancy of the Church or his thanes. (2) He gave a tenth part of his own private estates of book-land to various thanes or clerical establishments. (3) He commanded that one poor man, whether native born or stranger, should be maintained in food and clothing on every ten hides of his land.* The fact of all his donations running on the number ten, the scriptural tithe number, has no doubt led many to misunderstand these transactions, but if King Ethelwulf was himself an ordained priest, as he is said to have been, we may easily account for his observing this proportion. What then was the origin of tithes in England? It is clear that this payment was due not to secular but to ecclesiastical law.

From the genuine Penitential of Archbishop Theodore we see that the duty of giving tithe to sacred purposes was regarded by him as part of the common law of the church.† This being so, a series of enactments under the Anglo-Saxon kings, recognizing the religious obligation, gives it the force of secular law. That tithes were the gift of private individuals, and not a State donation, appears most clearly from the fact of the great variety to be found in the character and amount of the tithe. "There

* Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons.*

† Haddon and Stubbs, iii. 637.

were liberal donors and illiberal, cheerful givers and niggard givers. And so one man gave a tithe of corn only, another a tithe of wood, another a tithe of meadow land, another a tithe of some kind of live stock, another tithes of all these put together; but this was done so unequally, so much according to individual fancy and caprice, that there are still many pieces of land and some whole manors which pay no tithe at all."*

Such being the origin of tithes considered as a payment to the Church generally it will be well now to consider their disposition and how the Church in each parish came to have a claim on the tithes in that parish. For this was not so originally. In the account given in Bede of the Mission of Augustine to Kent, we are told that Augustine consulted Pope Gregory as to how he was to dispose of the alms which were brought by the Christian converts. He was charged to divide them into four portions, of which one was to be given to the bishop, one to the clergy, one to the poor, one to be used for the repair of churches.

No doubt the contributions for the support of religion were for some time paid into one central fund, but under Archbishop Theodore a different system was commenced. To this great prelate the credit is usually assigned of being the founder of the parochial system; and though this may be attributing to him more than the facts will warrant, yet there is no doubt that he commenced the present organization of the Church both as regards dioceses and parishes. We have the assertion of Thomas of Elmham that he encouraged the laity to build churches on their lands by promising that they should have the patronage of such churches, and in his *Penitential* we have tithes treated as a payment already established, and a law set forth that these should be paid by the laity *suas ad ecclesias*.†

In process of time the principle thus established was fully matured; and hence it is that the phenomenon meets us, which is explicable on no other ground, of the great inequality in the revenues of livings. No general payment to the Clergy, such

* *National Church*, vol. vii. p. 174.

† Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 208.

as that which prevails in France, was ever voted by the State, but each was left dependent on local circumstances. The kings and the witans enacted the due payment of church scot, but did not decree its amount. Enactments of theirs were made in the West Saxon witan of 690 under King Ina, and in the Kent witan of 692 under King Wihthred.

Then we come to the Council of Chelsea in 787, at which the Pope's legates were present, and which decrees in its 17th Canon that tithes are to be strictly paid. Thus commencing with voluntary gifts, but ratified and enforced by witans and councils, the payment of tithes had become a legal obligation long before the time of Ethelwulf, and has ever since continued to enjoy this security. I can only find one instance in our history when a deliberate attempt was made to do away with tithes. This was done by the Barebones Parliament in 1653, but was not accepted by the Lord Protector Cromwell, who very soon sent these Radical gentlemen about their business.

The modern settlement which converted tithes into a rent-charge does not in any way affect the legal basis of the payment. In fact, it implies and establishes it, and had there not been such an undoubted legal basis, the measure evidently could never have been passed.

We turn now to the consideration of that other source of clerical income, glebe lands. The annual value of the glebe land held by incumbents of benefices, without reckoning that of lands belonging to sees and cathedral bodies, is given in the return as £948,003 ; of this £43,200 only is of modern dotation. The origin, therefore, of the great bulk of the landed property of the Church must be looked for in early times. We find the Church in possession of lands before it was recognised and established by the State, *i.e.* before the time of Constantine, and by a law of Justinian, every great man who built a church was bound to endow it with a certain quantity of land. It is obvious that this would be the ordinary way of providing for a presbyter before the regular settlement of tithe, but as in the earliest days of the Church of England almost all the ministrations of religion depended on the monasteries, the earliest grants

would be made to these houses, and then as the Church became localised in any particular spot, and a building was erected in place of the simple cross where people originally used to worship, land would be given to the priest of that special church, and for the support of that particular fabric.

That early charters of donations to parish churches are not forthcoming is not to be wondered at. In the first place the donation was not ordinarily given by writing, but by word of mouth and the transfer of a wand or staff in the presence of witnesses.* In the next place, if written charters had been given there was no machinery for their preservation, and no secure place in which they could be deposited. Charters given to monasteries were carefully preserved, and sometimes, unless the monks are sorely belied, were unduly multiplied, and it is not improbable that many grants of land made informally to parish churches may have been formally transferred to the neighbouring monastery by a forged charter, great numbers of which have been detected.

It cannot be reasonably argued in the case of glebe lands, as it is attempted to be in the case of tithes, that these lands were conferred on the Church by any act of the State. Their great variety in extent, the fact that many churches are without them, the fact that some churches are endowed with lands in distant parishes, all tend to show that they were due to gifts at different times by different persons, some moved to greater liberality, some to less. Domesday book furnishes the clearest testimony that, at the time of the Conquest, almost all the churches were endowed with certain hides of land.

The Norman nobles and gentry were not behind the Anglo-Saxons in liberal dotations, and the landed possessions of the Church, especially of the monasteries, which were always trying to get hold of the revenues of parish churches, rapidly increased. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries a very large proportion of the land of the country was in ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical hands. Some say as much as one-third, but this is probably an exaggeration. How was this property dealt

* Lord Selborne, *Defence of Church*, p. 115.

with in the time of Henry VIII.? In no case was what was taken from the monasteries restored to the parish churches from which it had been filched by the monasteries.

The estates of the religious houses, without any account of the way in which they had been acquired, were given or sold for small sums to laymen, or used for secular purposes. The vast mass of impropriate tithes which had been held by monasteries passed into lay hands or were forced upon the bishops in exchange for manors. "In no one instance, I believe," says Mr. Hallam, "were they restored to the parochial clergy."* Hence the great poverty of the Church after the Reformation, a poverty which has pressed upon her ever since.

There is no question that at this period the parochial churches lost many estates which they had enjoyed from time immemorial under the pretence that they could show no definite or distinct title to them. As Henry VIII. robbed the monasteries, so did Queen Elizabeth systematically rob the parish churches. She was in the habit from time to time of giving commissions to her courtiers and gentlemen pensioners, in lieu of money, from which she did not like to part, giving them authority to inquire into the titles of Church lands and other Church property. If the titles were considered defective they might proceed against the incumbent and acquire the land for their own use. "They did intermeddle," says Strype, "and challenged lands of long time possessed by churchwardens and such like, upon the charitable gifts of predecessors to the common benefit of the parish."† Lord Coke describes them as "harpies and cormorants," and so great was the mischief and robbery committed by them that in the next reign it was necessary to pass an Act of Parliament,‡ "for the quiet of the subject against pretence of concealment," by which a large amount of property belonging to semi-ecclesiastical foundations, such as colleges and hospitals, was saved. Such ecclesiastical property, therefore, as has

* *Constitutional History*, i. 92.
† Annals, iii. 310.
‡ 21 Jac. 1.

survived all these trials and convulsions, and remained attached to the benefice from time immemorial, may fairly be regarded as having an indefeasible title.

In this return the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are set down as having an income of £1,247,827. This represents an enormous property, and is not without a certain element of danger to the Church. A sum thus grouped and massed is made very handy for the operations of the spoiler. Hence we gladly welcome the sound policy of the Commissioners in commencing the re-endowment of the Sees and Chapters with lands calculated to produce the income assigned to them, and thus detaching something from the great mass of their property for permanent local use.

On the same ground of the danger belonging to aggregation of funds we may regard an Act lately passed enabling an incumbent, with consent of patron, to sell his glebe land, and thus to convert his income into a payment of interest from stock. Here there is not only a danger of giving facilities to the spoiler, but the severance from local interests thus effected cannot but be prejudicial to the influence of the incumbent with his parishioners.

In estimating the modern benefactions to the Church, this return merely takes cognizance of that which forms part of the income of the clergy, but omits all notice of that class of benefactions which, though producing no income in money, yet does far more in testifying to the devout liberality of Churchmen, I mean the amount of money expended on the building, repair, and restoration of churches. This amounts to an enormous sum. From a return obtained by Lord Hampton in 1875 and from other returns made since, particulars of which may be found in the Church Year Books, it may be shown that the sum expended in quite modern times on church building and restoration amounts to fully £40,000,000. This is, I imagine, a fact absolutely unique in Church history, and testifies most strongly to the intense love and devotion with which the Church is regarded by her members. It is possible that even in this generation this love and devotion may be tried to the uttermost in defending the position and the ancient endowments of the Church of

England, but we trust that an amount of zeal will then be found to be forthcoming that will avail to foil all the attacks of the leveller and the spoiler.

I conclude by moving the following Resolution :—" That the title of the Church of England to her property and revenues cannot be impugned, and that her ancient endowments stand on precisely the same footing of legality as modern benefactions conveyed by legal documents."

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